A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

Happy new year!

NEW TIMES

THE DISARMAMENT AGE BEGINS

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ed proposals to ban the militarization of outer space. These proposals have been approved by the U.N. General Assembly.

At the Disarmament Conference in Geneva, the Soviet Union has submitted thoroughly elaborated proposals for the prohibition of chemical weapons and destruction of existing stockpiles. Good headway has been made in the drafting of a treaty in this field. The Soviet Union and its Warsaw Treaty allies have urged the NATO countries to reduce the armed forces of the two military blocs by roughly a quarter. All these proposals have been backed up by a carefully devised system of on-site inspection.

1917–1987

TIME AND PEOPLE

On November 7 the Soviet people and progressives the world over observed the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

A month later the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States met in Washington. On December 8 they signed a treaty that would eliminate a whole class of modern nuclear armaments. A practical step towards a nuclear-free world has been made.

Several years ago the prospect of such an accord seemed to many people hopeless. But the Soviet Union and the United States were able to overcome the obstacles. Their leaders met in Geneva and Reykjavik. A great deal of work had been done before the treaty was signed in Washington.

In the past few years the Soviet Union has put forward a number of new peace initiatives. On January 15, 1986, it advanced a carefully worked-out programme for the phased abolition of all nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

Moscow has also advanc-

Red Square, November 7, 1987. ● Soviet and U.S. leaders meet in Geneva in 1985. ● A Soviet-American peace march, 1987.

Lastly, the Soviet Union has advanced the idea of establishing a comprehensive system of international security, which can be seen as crowning the broad programme of action proposed by it in the military, political, economic and humanitarian fields.

The Soviet initiatives are gaining increasing support in the world. The signing of the Treaty between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. on the elimination of their intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles has demonstrated that, provided good will is shown, progress in nuclear disarmament can be made.

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

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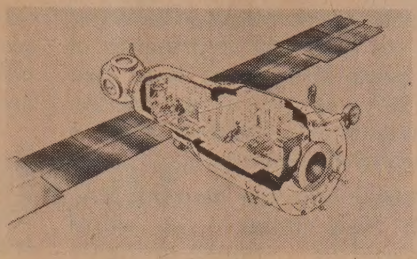

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How has the INF treaty been taken in Western Europe - the F.R.G. and Britain, in particular? How do the West's right look on it!

NEW TIMES

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FROM OUR MAILBAG

●

Like all sensible people, I welcome from the bottom of my heart the treaty abolishing medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan. Unfortunately, however, it is not only in the U.S., but in our own country too that we find people who dislike the idea of better relations between the U.S.S.R. and America. They claim that the U.S. caused us so much harm in the postwar years that we should not enter into peaceful agreements and contacts with it. I think such people are wrong. We should look for what we have in common - ways to achieve mutual understanding and build up relations.

NIKOLAI SEMYONOV
Grozny, U.S.S.R.

●

The U.S.S.R. is tackling major problems now, such as the struggle for peace, the development of socialism. All this evokes a wide response in the capitalist world, where there is a growing interest in socialism. In resolving new, revolutionary tasks, you are showing mankind that socialism is a live force, which is constantly being renewed in its dialectical development, shedding all that hinders its advancement.

JOSE ANTONIO PRIETO
Barcelona, Spain

●

I should like to see more articles in New Times on your health service, environmental protection, housing, and reports from factories. I'm sure that kind of information could help us in our own struggle for a better life. Your example could be of use to us in the renovation of our own society.

ORESTE FALORNI
Florence, Italy

EDITORIAL

AN EVENTFUL YEAR

The passage of time can neither be halted nor accelerated. But it sometimes happens that time is so packed with events that as the year draws to a close we have the impression of having lived through at least two years. 1987 was such a year for the Soviet Union and, indeed, for the entire world community.

Let's begin with our own country, although New Times - as world affairs magazine - should probably first turn to world events, not domestic matters. But we feel justified, because the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union have, as never before, become an international factor. We oft repeated Lenin's words that the Soviet Union would "exercise our main influence on the international revolution through our economic policy." We repeated this often, but without results. The time has now come for us to go back to the great tenets of socialism, including that particular one.

On this new road, the past year - the year of the 70th anniversary of the October revolution - marked an important milestone. We have defined the concepts of perestroika. Soviet society is now settling down to its second stage - the hardest and most exacting - the practical implementation of its plans. And at this particular juncture, the Soviet people are under no illusions as to the difficulties which lie ahead.

But, as a poet once said, "whoever of the great ones, where and when chose paths that were both better-trod and easier?" We never chose the easy paths (but unfortunately we often made them more difficult than they needed have been) and now we are mustering our forces for the further democratization of society, for implementing a radical economic reform, for consolidating the principles of glasnost, and for overcoming economic difficulties.

The year has done much for world socialism. Each member of the socialist community, according to his own interests and the concrete situation which exists in his own country, is seeking his own methods to more fully utilize the potentials inherent in the social system. Equally evident is the newly reinforced collaboration between our countries.

How closely the world watches us! And not always with kindness and good will. But we are learning to accept the world as it is: not as either black or white, nor through the prism of wishful thinking that distorts reality. As far as international affairs are concerned, there is no difficulty in assessing the past year. Despite all the differences and even contradictions of events in different corners of the world there can be no doubt that the signing of the treaty abolishing two classes of nuclear weapons has become an important historical watershed in international developments. This is a tangible result of the "packing" of time. Nearly seven years of intense political efforts seemed to have been condensed into one day - the day of the conclusion of the treaty. A practical start has been put to the building of a world without nuclear weapons.

1987, as the year of the conclusion of the treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles, has become a symbol of the opportunities which the new mentality has to offer in many spheres of international life. National reconciliation in Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Nicaragua is important, because it is in those regions that world reaction is making every effort to block the prospects for peace, and aggravate the conflicts. That dangerous policy of confrontation is still bearing fruit - one just has to look at the Middle East, the Persian Gulf area, southern Africa. Where's the rule, where's the exception? 1987 produced no final answer. But it has taught us to pose the questions in such a way that the answers should not be inescapably negative.

A year has passed. A new one is beginning. And as the years succeed each other, we shall remember 1987.

The recently signed INF treaty has come in for extensive discussion at all levels around the world. Most statesmen and public figures are in favour of scrapping intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. However, other opinions too have been voiced. The treaty has its opponents, both across the ocean and in the Old World.

What are the pros and cons being put forward today? Our correspondents report from Bonn and London.

BONN

When nuclear stock goes down

In the F.R.G. the signing of the INF treaty gave fresh impulse to the debate on a new concept of West European security

On the whole, Bonn welcomes the treaty as the first step towards real disarmament. What's more, the ruling CDU/CSU coalition, Free Democrats, representatives of the opposition (Social Democrats and the Greens) are vying for credit for the "double zero."

Until quite recently, the CDU's General Secretary Geissler went all out to prove that the "zero option" on missiles would detract from West German security. When the Washington summit was in progress, however, he extended invitations to a number of Soviet journalists with the express purpose of letting us know that he had changed his stance. It turned out that "double zero" did not increase danger - quite the contrary. That was a revolutionary decision, said Geissler, which testified to an increase in confidence between the two blocs, and which was, in itself, a confidence-building measure. He spoke in favour of continued strategic, chemical and conventional arms reduction. True, not everything our host said made us happy, but on the whole we were favourably impressed. Changes for the better are obvious, although the way Christian Democrats - and many other politicians, for that matter - see it, "nuclear deterrence" remains a cornerstone of West German and indeed West European security.

At one time Helmut Kohl himself and other leaders of the ruling parties tried to prove the danger and impossibility of eliminating intermediate-range missiles from Europe. Jörgen Todenhöfer is still unable to tolerate the INF. He has resigned his position as spokesman of the CDU/CSU faction on disarmament in the Bundestag and in the Bundestag arms control subcommittee. Well, that was honest of him, at least.

Regarding all the obstacles which the conservatives put up in the way of the treaty, official Bonn - and the Federal Chancellor in particular - must be given their due. At the critical moment when the fate of the treaty was at stake, Helmut Kohl - who by no means commanded unanimous support on the issue within his own party - displayed political realism and farsightedness by removing the barriers which obstructed progress towards the treaty. Nevertheless, doubts as to the correctness of this move still persist in the CDU, let alone CSU.

Social Democrats celebrate the "double zero" as a personal victory. Indeed, they have more reason to do so than the conservative parties. Let's not forget, however, that it was Social Democrat Helmut Schmidt, who, as Chancellor, "godfathered" the NATO decision on rearmament. Later, the party's stand on Euromissiles was not always consistent either, and all but led to a split in the party.

I shall not attempt therefore to arbitrate between the ruling parties and the opposition who are really more interested in votes than in the truth. Hermann Eich of Bonn's newspaper General-Anzeiger is quite right in saying that instead of boasting of their past accomplishments they would do better to think about the future. The Frankfurter Allgemeine's advice to them is "to secure a place under the sun rather than merely react to what is happening in Washington and in Moscow."

Today Bonn is more afraid of new Soviet peace bids than it is of Russian tanks and missiles. How is it to respond to these bids? The Berlin meeting of the Warsaw Treaty states on December 11 came as an obvious relief. Had the meeting put forward some new proposals - concerning, say, tactical missiles or conventional arms - panic may have erupted on the banks of the Rhine. In anticipation of Moscow's next initiatives (believed here to be in the offing) West Germany is feverishly seeking its own alternative concept of security and disarmament for the post-"double-zero" period.

The basic concept, which consists of reliance upon American guarantees and nuclear deterrents, remains unchanged. There is an awareness among some circles in Bonn, however, that the scrapping of the Pershing 2 and cruise missiles, capable of reaching the territory of the Soviet Union, renders talk about the need for nuclear deterrence much less convincing. After all, the weapons that remain - tactical missiles and nuclear cannon - can hit targets on German soil only. (The British and French nuclear forces and the American aircraft carriers are not mentioned somehow.) Will they suffice to stop the "Soviet aggressor," Volker Rühe, Deputy

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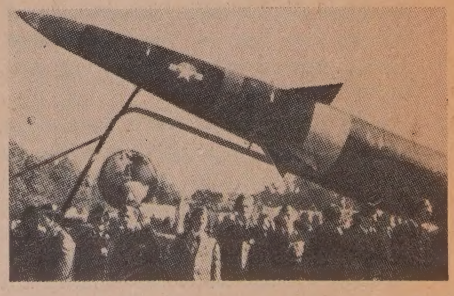
The anti-war movement takes much credit for Bonn having changed its stance on the Euromissile issue.

Photo from Newsweek (U.S.)



REPERCUSSIONS

Chairman of the CDU/CSU faction in the Bundestag, wonders. Won't such deterrence actually turn out to be "self-deterring"? Won't it strengthen the positions of those who demand that an end be put to mass destruction weapons once and for all? And won't, in that case, former advocates of the nuclear deterrence concept denounce it? Rühe's line of reasoning leads him to reject - at least for the time being - the prospect of the world going non-nuclear. Therefore he suggests that a new West European security concept should rest on deterrents that are as "convincing" as they were prior to the change in the situation.

It would seem logical to modernize tactical missiles with a view to bringing certain targets on Soviet territory within their reach, and to carry out a new round of rearmament. Such measures, however, are extremely unpopular today. "Modernization is not the order of the day," Rühe states. What's more, he suggests that tactical nuclear missiles be reduced to a minimum (but not eliminated), insists that they be "regrouped" (whatever this means) and that the quality of such weapons is of decisive importance. If what he is talking about is not modernization, then what is?

A sustained effort has been made to persuade West Europeans that nuclear weapons are necessary as a counterbalance to the Warsaw Treaty bloc's overwhelming supremacy in conventional arms. Now Rühe is trying to absolutize the political functions of nuclear weapons by demanding that they should be retained even in a situation where a lower parity between the sides' conventional capabilities has been achieved. Rühe is not alone in this opinion. Michael Stürmer, an adviser of the Federal Chancellor's, takes the same view. "An equilibrium in conventional arms," he says, "does not obviate the need for nuclear deterrence." Manfred Wörner, West Germany's current Defence Minister and the future NATO Secretary-General, openly discusses the likely modernization of tactical missiles in the nineties.

Under the circumstances, a great deal depends on what stand Bonn will ultimately take. Neither Rühe's pronouncements, Wörner's statement, nor Stürmer's articles should probably be regarded as the last word on the matter. No well-balanced West European security concept has been worked out yet; on the other hand, nuclear stock is falling and getting ever harder to sell.

Fully aware of this, West Germany is trying to concentrate public attention on the conventional arms issue. It is these arms - or rather their imbalance - that pose the greatest danger, the Frankfurter Allgemeine tells its readers. So before attempting a reduction in nuclear arms it is necessary to work out a conventional arms policy. The idea is that if Gorbachev suggests a "third zero," the West should respond with an initiative in a different sphere, or put forward a convincing precondition - insisting at the very least, for instance, that the Soviet Union should unilaterally reduce its tanks and artillery in Central Europe by 50 per cent. This is not a dogma, just a school of thought. No common approach to the conventional arms issue has yet been worked out in West Germany, but the search for it is in progress. The Foreign Ministry has come up with a few ideas recently, for instance. There is an element of constructive thinking in these ideas, I'm sure. As distinct from Wörner, Hans-Dietrich Genscher believes it unreasonable to exclude the tactical nuclear missile issue from the agenda of future talks on the reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces within the area stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals. In general, he is tending towards the "third zero." Genscher suggests that the imbalance of conventional weapons be stabilized stage by stage, and that in the "central phase" of the talks equal NATO and WTO ceilings be agreed upon - starting with Central Europe. In Genscher's opinion, these ceilings ought to be below the current NATO level. He suggests that in the long run the sides should agree upon structural changes ruling out offensive action either way.

Other West German politicians advance similar ideas. A welcome development in the quest for ways to reduce nuclear weapons is the wish to put an end to the former practice of numerical discussions which has practically landed the Vienna talks in a blind alley. It will be recalled that back in 1983 the U.S.S.R. offered to stop calculating the numerical strength of the armies and the number of weapons and to set the ceilings for both sides. It has taken West Germany four years to see how constructive this idea is. Well, better late than never.

There is also awareness in Bonn that "the key to stability in the field of conventional arms lies in equal low-level ceilings and in structural changes." (Admiral Elmar Schmähling.)

There are other viewpoints in the F.R.G., of course. Deliberately unacceptable reservations are made, and new rearmament is demanded (including that in the conventional sphere). Plans for nuclear arms modernization (whatever Rühe may call it), projects to set up a West European anti-missile shield, and other military programmes have not been removed from the agenda. What will Bonn's future concept of security for Western Europe be like? The record of negotiations over intermediate-range missiles goes to show that the way to security lies in reasonable compromises, in meeting each other halfway.

NIKITA ZHOLKVER
our own correspondent

LONDON

The fireworks lit up the dreary winter sky over the Thames and sounds of music came flowing from the middle of the river. The BBC Symphony Orchestra, miraculously huddled together on a barge, were playing familiar classical tunes. The musicians were muffled up and some were in gloves, but this didn't seem to affect their performance.

This was the unusual start of a charity show for destitute children. The BBC sponsors such events every year shortly before Christmas. This time the live broadcast lasted from 7 p.m. till 2 a.m. The thrilling concert moved indoors, with popular singers and actors replacing one another on TV screens. The studio was receiving a steady stream of telephone calls from willing donors. Every now and then the viewers were told of the sum total of the contributions at that particular moment.

Mercy is in honour here. Although government aid to the needy has been slashed, the tradition of charity lives on. A good tradition which has become a British national trait.

A clash of concepts

Re the debate on an independent nuclear deterrent potential

From our special correspondent
GALINA SIDOROVA

For some of those bypassed by affluence, compassion in the form of philanthropy for those even more hapless than oneself provides an opportunity to feel well off.

It is curious, though, that while gladly donating as many pounds as they can afford to miserable children, Britons curse unemployed failures of whom there are around three million in the country. While being moved by their own generosity, they rail at the Labourites for wasteful charity at the Exchequer's expense. The "losers" - the jobless - keep mum about their problems during elections, looking to the "lucky ones" - joint shareholders of recently floated state enterprises, or those who have set themselves up in business.

When the issue of foreign policy comes up in conversation, a Soviet visitor is often told: "Compared with you, a great power, we are a small nation." This phrase is accompanied by a sad sigh for Great Britain's former imperial might and... haughty comments about "continental Europeans."

Trapped in stereotypes

Britons are, of course, different, with different views and national features. Among these various traits, common or otherwise, one particular trait is, I believe, of special significance in the shaping of the political priorities of the silent majority whose predilections have been so skilfully manipulated by the present Conservative minority to remain in power. This British trait is an inflated sense of national pride and self-importance. A feeling which, over the past few decades, because of the particular circumstances of our nuclear age with its betrayal of the logic of reason, has been associated with the military factor - the status of a nuclear power with robust defences. The loss by their country of this status, in the opinion of many Britons, will further detract from its role in world affairs.

It is the issue of what underlies a nation's might that has become, in my view, the point of departure in a debate on Britain's unilateral nuclear disarmament and on the role of an independent nuclear deterrent, which I witnessed during a recent visit. The British government's stance is known. Our magazine has written too about the stance of forces gravitating towards the political centre (see issue No. 49 for 1987). In this respect I was particularly interested in the various poles of opinion among the grass roots: the position of rank-and-file Conservatives, like-minded members of other parties and non-party people, and the hidden causes of dissent among the Labourites some of whom believe that Britain's unilateral nuclear disarmament policy, which currently underlies their party's international course, has not justified itself and should be dropped. Finally, I wanted to see how the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), which was holding a conference in London in late November, was going to defend its cherished dream.

Let me begin with a conversation I had over a cup of coffee with Lady Olga Maitland, a member of one of Britain's richest aristocratic families, a colleague from the Sunday Express, a budding Conservative politician, leader of a public organization calling itself Families for Defence, and simply a charming woman of unshakeable views. At the last elections Lady Olga ran in a district in London's East End (a poor area - **G.S.**) which Conservatives are usually afraid even to approach. Her constituents were predominantly immigrants from Bangladesh. Lady Maitland became a vice-president of their association for promoting barter. She spent whole days campaigning in the district and collected 15 per cent of the votes.

She said the following:

"Britain has a great past. Of course, today we are not a superpower. But we exercise considerable influence on international developments, especially with the incumbent Prime Minister. We are among the privileged European nations and, economically, the strongest. On top of this, one should not forget about our strategic position between the United States and Europe. (Note that Britons sometimes consider themselves Europeans and, at other times, distance themselves from them - **G.S.**) And, of course, we are one of the nuclear powers. This is very important. I refuse to admit the possibility of a nuclear-free Britain. Nuclear arsenals in the world are too big. They must be reduced. But it is impossible to eliminate them. I shall campaign most vigorously against the idea of a nuclear-free Europe in any form. It is unrealistic."

"Why?"

"Because it will then be necessary to boost spending on conventional defences, and none of the European nations will want to do that."

"And what about a proposal by the U.S.S.R. and its allies to reduce this class of weapons as well?"

"As yet, I can see too many and too advanced Soviet tanks in Europe. We are not fully acquainted with your capabilities. I do not believe that Mr Gorbachev wants to start a war. But one cannot be completely certain about it. This is why I regard a strong defence as the principal condition for security and peace."

"What do you think of the Soviet-U.S. INF treaty?"

"I have mixed feelings. On the one hand, it is a great relief to see your SS-20s go. But on the other, I have a foreboding that the years of inspections will bring only tears. I'm not sure about the effectiveness of the verification procedures envisaged by the treaty. Besides, it is imperative, I repeat, to take urgent action regarding your conventional forces, because we see them as a threat. This is why in NATO they are considering compensatory measures. Politically, it will not be easy to get them through. But the leadership of the alliance must do something so that we feel ourselves to be secure. Perhaps, they should increase the number of U.S. sea-based cruises or aircraft."

"So, you're for a strong defence. Does this explain the name of your organization?"

"I founded Families for Defence in 1983 when I realized that the propaganda clamour over the Greenham Common women had become too shrill and the anti-nuclear debate was getting out of control. Nobody then was discussing at grassroots level why we needed a defence and why we needed NATO. And that was absolutely wrong. To my mind, we had gone for

too long without explaining obvious things. Sometimes, however, we cannot do without explanations. So I decided to challenge CND and stir up the silent majority. Our organization includes ordinary men and women from the most diverse walks of life. I assure you that there are almost no aristocrats, they are too lazy. There are two or three thousand permanent members, but we have many sympathizers. We are independent of the Conservative Party. Our central council includes, among others, Liberals and Social Democrats. We hope that it will be possible to return to the time of consensus among the main political parties on defence policy...."

Lady Olga represents the extreme right of public opinion. I wouldn't have dwelt upon our meeting in so much detail but for the fact that the several thousand outspoken followers of Lady Maitland are supported also by part of the silent majority, who are equally trapped in old stereotypes. Such is the reality of British politics today. By the way, as we parted, Lady Olga told me of her dream to come to the U.S.S.R. and see "what you have going on over there."

The shadow of strength

Regardless of how the attitude to the Soviet Union may be changing in the British Isles, and it has been changing markedly, so far, one has to admit, this has not affected Britain's nuclear doctrine. The authorities, on the contrary, are attempting to resuscitate their positions-of-strength policy and convince compatriots that it was this policy which made the Soviet-U.S. INF treaty and indeed arms control progress in general possible. These claims are aimed primarily at the Labourites.

Hesitation about the effectiveness of the unilateral nuclear disarmament policy is increasingly manifest among the party's leadership. Why so?

"The most frightful thing for a politician is to be accused of weakness or lack of patriotism," explains Labour MP Joan Ruddock. "This is why many are afraid to advocate disarmament. One can see all the time how our opponents play on the British people's national sentiment. The national importance syndrome is closely associated with a strong defence. Some of my party colleagues are seeking to change our 'anti-nuclear course.' They argue that we shall retain nuclear weapons as long as these are retained by others. As a rule, these people logically end up in the camp of those who believe that we shall always live with the bomb. Could we have won the elections with our unilateral nuclear disarmament policy? I'm told: 'No.' I respond: 'We haven't tried.' And, generally speaking, it is, in my opinion, wrong, when talking about our defeat, to blame everything on the defence aspect. We need a more specific stance on all the other issues too, so that we can offer the voters more than just good wishes."

I asked Joan as vice-president of the Labour Party's Defence Committee about the alternative to the independent nuclear deterrent potential which the Labourites could offer the British people without offending their sense of national self-esteem.

"We ought to get down seriously to the problem of a non-provocative, or sufficient, non-nuclear defence. After making this concept a matter of practical policy, the Labourites could shift the emphasis to other priorities, for example the economic sphere...."

Joan ranks among prominent CND members. She belongs to the Labour wing that is firmly committed to the unilateral nuclear disarmament policy and thinks it vital not to replace it, but to view it in the context of global security and the universal process of disarmament. As it is, however, some of the Labour leaders are overly concerned with "shoring up" their positions in the military-political field. They stress the need for a strong defence and for upgrading conventional weaponry, and talk about transferring funds to non-nuclear military programmes if the country decides to scrap the Trident one. They add that Britain should remain a NATO member.

"We've started something"

The name of the game is a strong defence, which seems to provide a guarantee of security. This is a well-beaten path in politics. But there are people in Britain, indeed a whole social organization, who risked taking a different path as far back as the late 1970s. They put forward what was a revolutionary and is still regarded by many as a seditious idea: by dint of example and steps towards unilateral disarmament, to break the vicious circle of reciprocal threats and general suspicion. Starting with their own country, by making it nuclear-free. I am positive that if there hadn't been such daring ideas in the peace movement and if there hadn't been people backing them, the new manner of political thinking wouldn't have made it to international politics, new approaches to long-standing problems wouldn't have been found.

At its annual conference the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament demonstrated its strength. In spite of attacks from the right and the depature from CND of part of the silent majority, who have accepted the Conservatives'

Photo from Morning Star (Britain)

arguments, it displayed firmness by refusing to take one retrograde step and by suggesting options for its inclusion in the system of international security. Even such a committed opponent of CND as Lady Maitland admitted that they were becoming professionals and that, although their number had somewhat dropped, they were gaining greater access to the corridors of power and influence.

Speaking of influence, two thirds of Labour MPs are CND members. Two of them, John McWilliam and John Evans, have been nominated to the House of Commons' Select Committee on Defence for the first time.

Representatives of the Soviet Peace Committee were invited to the last CND conference for the first time too. They spoke in discussions on the themes "After the Summit" and "Gorbachev, 'new thinking' and the peace movement."

What else was discussed at the conference?

In the opinion of CND vice-chairman Elena Lieven, the debates focussed mainly on the organization's possible influence on British foreign policy.

"The conference," Elena said, "passed a resolution against NATO's compensatory measures. Another immediate goal is to stop the Trident programme. It is, you'll agree, outrageous that while the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. are reducing their nuclear arms, Britain is going to build up its. We are targeting also SDI which promotes the escalation of the nuclear race. We are for making European cooperation in the military field go non-nuclear. And the paramount task - we adopted a strategic resolution on it - is to fit unilateral nuclear disarmament into a broader context of radical changes in British foreign policy, for example, link it with attempts to make NATO abandon its first-strike strategy and declare a moratorium on nuclear testing, among other things."

CND chairman Bruce Kent added:
"The policy of Britain's unilteral nuclear

disarmament should be included in the world context. We are disarming because we want the entire world to move in the same direction. Sometimes, indeed, it looked as though we had been concerned only with British arms. It's time to look at what's happening around us."

"What other tasks are you setting yourselves?"

"It is essential to work seriously with journalists, teachers and scientists - all those who could educate the nation effectively in a spirit of peace. We intend to do much to help the silent majority understand us for what we really are."

"Do you think it is possible to change British public opinion in favour of foregoing the necessity of independent nuclear forces in maintaining the nation's international prestige?"

"Let me begin by noting that the stereotypes on which the Conservatives have been basing their policy, namely fear of the Russians, are rapidly disintegrating. You know that the latest public opinion polls here have shown people to be equally apprehensive of both the Russians and the Americans. The very foundation of the policy is falling apart. We are explaining that the main threat to the British today is the accidental use of nuclear weapons by a maniac who has managed to get hold of the bomb. It is possible to reduce the risk only by lowering the level of nuclear confrontation. The economic consequences of a military buildup also play a role. They are more keenly felt in the United States, in the U.S.S.R. But they are felt in this country as well. Explaining this, we seek to protect the well-being of our people. As far as national pride and prestige are concerned.... I think this country can be proud. We can be proud of Shakespeare. We can, finally, be gratified that Scotch whisky is the best in the world. The Swiss, for example, are proud of their watches and do not feel wretched about not having the bomb. In short, there's much work to be done by psychologists and you, journalists, too. As to us, 'we have started something' too, as the conference's motto says...."

* * *

During that visit to London I often travelled by Tube - the most convenient and fastest means of transportation in that city. One Friday evening a dense crowd was drifting into the Tube. People were either hurrying to the shops - Christmas was not far away - or, already appeased and loaded with plastic bags of purchases, on their way home. In that human anthill the traits of the British character came out clearly enough. A Briton retains dignity even in a crowd. He manages not to jostle even when it seems impossible to avoid a collision. And if he does push you, he will unfailingly say he's sorry. I behaved similarly, when the human stream carried me into the carriage and right up against an elderly lady. She accepted my apology with a silent nod, continuing to knit imperturbably. That's when I realized what makes a British crowd different from a Moscow one. It is their imperturbability and immersion in their own thoughts or activities. I asked myself: "What are they keeping quiet about?"

London - Moscow

REPERCUSSIONS

OBSERVER'S VIEW

The extreme right oppose INF

Reaction of right-wing circles in the U.S.A. and Western Europe to the missile agreement

The Russians will soon "occupy" Greenham Common in Britain. In broad daylight and without firing a single shot. They will demand cement and timber to construct three buildings - one a headquarters for Soviet inspectors, one to house high-tech verification equipment, and one for storage. The British are expected to provide the "reds" with telephones, high-frequency radios, comfortable toilets (a matter of particular pride), electricity, transport and medical care. Moscow, however, will pick up the bill.

These arrangements are to be carried out in order to guarantee the effective work of Soviet inspectors at the nuclear base in Greenham Common and in Molesworth.

Some people in Europe and the United States are evidently shocked by the nightmarish spectre of Bolsheviks walking around American military bases. The small number of critics of the INF treaty should not mislead anyone. Their influence is out of all proportion to their actual numbers, and they have not yet had their last word.

The prejudice shown towards Moscow by conservative extremists on both sides of the Atlantic reminds one of the prejudice harboured by the notorious General George S. Patton, who described the Russians as "a scurvy race and simply savages" and believed that the Russians could not be trusted. The tone, evaluations and epithets used by some of the "gravediggers" of the INF treaty are quite in the spirit of General Patton's strong verbiage.

By signing the new arms treaty with Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, President Reagan has lost his senses, sold out to the Russians and is plunging headlong into another Munich for the sake of "peace in our time." That is the view voiced by a broad coalition of conservatives in the United States. "It is tragic that we have a President who has made himself nothing more than an instrument of Soviet propaganda," another American conservative said.

The INF treaty is "a tragic mistake," "a Pyrrhic victory," "a challenge." This is how the accord has been described by some people in Europe. "The Soviet rulers cannot begin their move westward so long as one of the West European nations is capable of annihilating the invading armour by means of its short- and medium-range missiles," reads an article published in the London Times. "Even if the proposed treaty were verifiable, the absence of such a deterrent is an open invitation to such a move (Soviet invasion - **L.M.**), a simple fact which even an indifferent strategist like Hitler would have understood."

The conservatives have not only devised labels and swear words like "denuclearization of Europe" and "nuclear Finlandization." They have also proposed "compensation" plans which include the deployment in Europe of B-52 bombers carrying air-launched cruise missiles and of additional F-15E and F-111 planes capable of carrying nuclear weapons, submarines and surface ships with cruise missiles on board, "modernization" (a British euphemism) or, in plain words, the creation of new generations of medium- and shorter-range nuclear weapons, particularly in Britain and France.

Conservative extremists are prepared to give maximum publicity and support to the amendments that would flush the essence out of the treaty. They are intent on spoiling Moscow-Washington relations in order to render talks on a 50 per cent reduction of strategic arms impossible. They aim to exert pressure on President Reagan with the aim of wresting new concessions on the Strategic Defence Initiative which, they think, might damage Gorbachev's prestige; to urge the Kremlin to allow the inspection of not only the agreed sites but also of any other sites where the Russians might try to hide their intermediate-range missiles; to help elect a presidential candidate who would bury the agreement; to discredit both Ronald Reagan (up to the point of impeachment - don't forget Richard Nixon - over the Irangate scandal, which is not yet over) and the Soviet leadership (by harping on the issues of human rights, Afghanistan, Angola, Nicaragua and Kampuchea, and by playing on the difficulties of perestroika). Let Moscow and Washington bay for each other's blood.

The scions of General Patton have heard the call of destiny and believe they will achieve success.

LEV MAKAREVICH

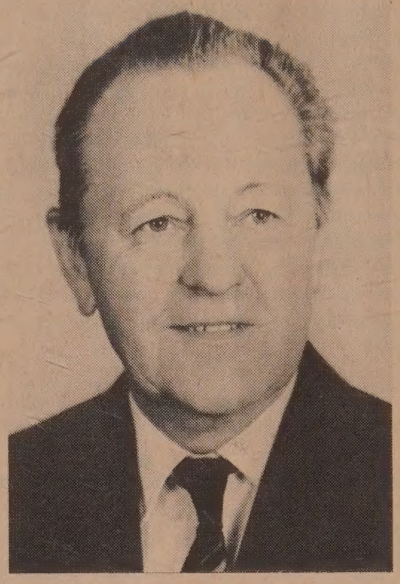
"Our aim— all-round reconstruction"

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia gathered for a plenary meeting in Prague on December 17-18 to discuss problems connected with pursuing the line of accelerating the country's economic and social progress, mapped out by the 17th CPCz Congress. The discussion centred upon further measures towards an all-round reconstruction of the economic management mechanism and on the topical problems involved in the deepening of socialist democracy.

Besides, the plenary meeting elected a new General Secretary of the CPCz Central Committee. The Central Committee accepted the resignation tendered by Gustav Husak and relieved him of the duties of General Secretary of the CPCz Central Committee. At a suggestion of the Presidium of the CPCz Central Committee, Milos Jakes was elected General Secretary.

The Party and the entire Czechoslovak public followed with intense attention the progress of this meeting which became a milestone in working out and carrying forward the resolutions of the 17th Congress and the subsequent plenary meetings of the Central Committee. It was stressed once again that reconstruction of all the spheres of public life remained a pressing task. Our society is now at a junction where it is necessary to control social processes more efficiently and to remove all the obstacles in the way of progress. Our No. 1 objective now is to create prerequisites for the further rise in living and cultural standards, for the consolidation of social guarantees, for the deepening of socialist democracy. This cannot be achieved by half measures - truly revolutionary reforms are needed. They will be based on the fundamental principles of socialism, such as public ownership of the means of production, planned economy, "to each according to his work," the primacy of the working class and its vanguard - the Communist Party - in society.

The present state of the economy confirms the need for reforms in running and planning the national economy. Although the situation has improved as compared with that in the seventh five-year period, and the social programme is being fulfilled, on the whole, there still exist subjective and objective difficulties. First of all, inadequate use is being made of production resources, and of the economic potential for intensification. For instance, raw material, feedstock and energy consumption is being reduced too slowly, and we still fall short of the planned labour productivity growth rates. The quality and technical standards of products have improved insignificantly. The plenary meeting's resolution on the all-round restructuring of the economic mechanism in Czechoslovakia is of special importance in carrying out the economic reform. The resolution specifies the radical changes in economic management and planning now in the offing; these changes consist in going over from the predominantly administrative methods of management to economic ones, in vesting industrial plants with more powers and greater responsibility, in improving the executive functions of the centre and enlisting the working people in economic management on a larger scale. In carrying out reconstruction we draw upon our own experience and knowledge gained in the course of implementing previous economic reforms, and on the theory and practical record of other socialist countries, the Soviet Union above all.



Milos Jakes, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, was born in 1922. A member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia since 1945, he has held responsible party, government and public posts, making a substantial contribution to the building of socialism and to the strengthening of friendship between the fraternal peoples of Czechoslovakia.

Milos Jakes, Hero of Socialist Labour of Czechoslovakia, has been awarded many distinctions both by his own government and others.

The Central Committee voiced its satisfaction over the results of a public discussion of three bills redefining the functions of the country's socialist enterprises. These are the bills on the state enterprise; on the farming cooperative; on the production, consumers' and housing construction cooperatives. More than 100,000 suggestions came in. Their authors confirmed the need for new approaches to the solution of the pressing problems of the country's development. This discussion became a school of democracy. It showed that the people were all for reconstruction.

The Central Committee regards the further deepening of socialist democracy as an indispensable prerequisite for the restructuring of the economic mechanism and of all spheres of public life. It was said at the plenary meeting that reconstruction was a nationwide cause, that its success depended on how much everyone contributed to it. This explains the need for the measures to deepen democracy - in the vital sphere of production, above all. Industrial plants are allowed greater independence, the work collectives will be given a freer hand in managing production, their organizations will be granted more extensive powers, and the system of electing executive personnel is now in the making (and even being experimented with here and there).

Our current - and, first and foremost, long-term - objectives require that in building socialist society Communists should have the cooperation of non-party men, members of other political parties and public organizations, all citizens. The question of enhancing the role played by the National Front in political and public life is under consideration. It is necessary to raise the responsibility of the national committees (local government bodies); plans are afoot for giving them a much more important role to play in the economic and social development of the territories, especially in providing better living conditions.

The plenary meeting referred to the improvement of party work as the basic prerequisite for a successful reconstruction. Its emphasis should be shifted to the work collectives. All the fundamental problems are to be tackled with the working people actively involved, in consultation with them, and with their experience drawn upon. It is necessary to increase the Communists' influence in enhancing order and organization, in combating irresponsibility and slovenliness.

Like other socialist countries, Czechoslovakia is on the threshold of important social reforms the implementation of which still requires much effort.

Vladimir CECHLOVSKY
Czechoslovak publicist
Prague

Cannons against reason

"'Khark looks like Berlin in 1945,' said an officer on one of the tankers..." So runs a report from a Reuter correspondent in Abu-Dhabi describing the situation on Khark Island, the biggest oil terminal in Iran, just a few moorings function. The others have been turned into ruins with fallen towers, destroyed buildings, twisted pipes and heaps of glass and stones.

No less dramatic reports are being published today by the Western journalists who visited Baghdad after the missile attack, or who have been to the Iraqi town of Basrah which, day in day out, is undergoing massive shellings from Iranian heavy artillery. An account of a missile hitting a school in Baghdad while classes were in progress makes horrible reading.

Offensive operations by the Iranian army are named with religious piety as Kerbela-1, Kerbela-2 and so forth.... Kerbela is a town in Iraq which is sacred to Shiite Muslims. As tradition has it, the town came into being late in the 7th century at the spot where Husein, the son of Shiite Caliph Ali and the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad, perished when he was caught in an ambush laid by Caliph Yazid. The town is a place of pilgrimage for the Shiites. Today the clergy in Iran call on their soldiers to rid this Shiite holy place of Sunnite Iraqi government control, and in general, to free the Iraqi Shiites from Sunnite oppression. Such calls find fervent response among the fanatics.

Fanaticism is an important factor in the insanity that is today continuing the bloodshed on the Iran-Iraq front. Those who fall in this senseless slaughter are promised heavenly bliss by the clerical authorities and an end to all painful earthly cares. Ayatollah Khomeini issued a "fatva" (religious decree) that releases children over twelve from obeying their parents. These children can now go to the front. And they do go, to the mine fields, together with other volunteers, hanging around their necks green plastic keys stamped in Taiwan and given to them to open the doors of paradise.

But war is not merely sparked off by fanaticism, war itself breeds fanaticism, making the spirals of madness self-perpetrating. Some forces stand to gain greatly from it as war distracts people from domestic troubles, from economic disruption and unemployment, social insecurity and unfulfilled hopes, from all the gravest problems that it would require urgent attempts to resolve if there were no war!

The cost of this madness increases with every passing day. Tragic data has been appearing more and more frequently in the press recently. According to some estimates, Iran has already suffered losses of more than 700 thousand people, including those killed, injured and taken prisoner. Iraq has lost about 350 thousand people.

If the source from which this data is cited is to be believed, both sides spent more than 200 billion dollars on the war between September 22, 1980 (when, as Iran claims, the Iraqi side started hostilities), and early this year. 60 per cent of this amount was spent by Iraq, which, besides "having burnt up 35 billion dollars' worth of prewar oil revenues," now finds itself owing 55 billion dollars to other countries.

Especially heavy damage has been inflicted by war on everything that relates to petroleum. Iraq counted on the destruction of Iranian oil extraction facilities, oil refineries and oil exports. As a result of its actions, Iran lost about 27 billion petrodollars between 1981 and 1986. But Iraq itself has also had damage inflicted on it: in 1986 its oil earnings were four times lower than in 1980. The total losses of gross national product in both countries over the seven years of the war work out at approximately 130 billion dollars.

In the past few weeks the Iraqi air force has twice attacked the port city of Bushire, where an Iranian atomic power plant with two reactors rated at 1,300 megawatts is under construction. Previously, Iranian specialists claimed that the plant was already supplied with nuclear fuel, and that Iraq, had this been true, was running a huge risk. Its actions could have caused a catastrophe of global consequences. Fortunately, the atomic power project had no fuel, but the very fact of the bombardment shows how high passions are running and to what extent the judgements of the belligerent parties have been blinded.

And take the so-called "tanker war." About 400 ships have been attacked in the Persian Gulf since it started, with more than 200 crew members killed, and reports continue to come in of tankers and dry cargo ships being attacked. The activities of the U.S. Navy only aggravate the situation in the Persian Gulf, frequently and deliberately creating provocative situations which the Americans could have used in their military and political interests.

Increasingly disturbing news has been coming in over the past few weeks from Teheran and Baghdad. The reports say that Iran is preparing for "a winter" offensive, "final and decisive," as the foreign mass media dub it. At the front, fierce fighting had barely begun on the Iranian initiative when it stopped and the situation stabilized. Rumours of the forthcoming offensive are building up. Some reports say that Iran has concentrated approximately 250-300 thousand men on its southern border with Iraq in the region of Basrah.

"The final and decisive" offensive is more frequently and loudly on the lips of prominent Iranian statesmen, politicians and military. The Western mass media take these statements in all seriousness, even stating that the war could end within a short period of time with Iraq suffering defeat, and that it is necessary to prevent this defeat "in the interests of the West." The provocative character of these statements is only too evident as they go to add fuel to the fire and incite those quarters who do not wish to comply with the well-known Security Council Resolution 598 on an early possible end to the fratricidal and senseless Iran-Iraq conflict.

On the other hand, there are statements in which an attempt is also made to cast doubts on the U.S.S.R.'s approach to the solution of the conflict. In this connection, at the recent briefing in the press centre of the U.S.S.R. Foreign Ministry the following was stated: "The principled stand of the U.S.S.R. in favour of an early possible end of the Iran-Iraq war has not changed in any way. The Soviet Union resolutely supports urgent compliance with all provisions of the relevant Security Council resolution. Since the peacemaking efforts to find ways of ending the war on the part of the U.N. Secretary-General are encountering considerable difficulties, the Soviet Union does not object to alternative steps to this end, including the possibility of discussing the so-called second resolution, which would provide for measures of compulsion with respect to any party that refused to comply with the U.N. Security Council resolution."

The Soviet Union thus reiterated its stand in favour of ending the madness that is costing hundreds of thousands of human lives.

EVGENY KORSHUNOV

Has the rose faded?

ANATOLY KRASIKOV

Looking back, observers of practically all newspapers and magazines note that the past five years have been quiet ones. The right has learnt to live with a Socialist government and does not seek to overthrow it. And the Socialists, in turn, have not been doing anything to prevent their political opponents from standing up for their own views and ideas.

The Prime Minister, General Secretary of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain (SWP) Felipe Gonzalez, summed up the situation at a press conference:

"Of course, we've made mistakes," he said. "However, today the country faces the future with greater confidence. And the outside world has greater trust in Spain."

During the four decades of the Franco regime, Spaniards were taught to believe that the "Reds" were the worst enemies of the nation and that their participation in running the country would lead to revenge for the defeat of the Popular Front during the civil war and to the victimization of the former victors. But it turned out that supporters of all parties - from the extreme right to the extreme left - can coexist and compete peacefully, without resorting to violence as a means of achieving their end.

The former foreign minister, José Maria de Areilza, a monarchist with whom I had an appointment in the lounge of the Miguel Angel Hotel, admitted that although he was an opponent of Felipe Gonzalez, nevertheless he had long dreamt of such an evolution in Spanish life. He had even thought up the term "the civilized right" for those representatives of the bourgeoisie who recognized the need, and even the inevitability of open competition between opposing political platforms.

"I would not consider myself free," he said, "if the freedom to defend my own position was granted only to me and my friends."

I heard much the same from Manuel Fraga Iribarne, the founder of the influential right-wing party, the Popular Alliance (in 1987 he turned over the party leadership to a younger man - Antonio Hernandez Mancha).

Not everyone agrees with such a "civilized" view. Both open and masked Franco supporters never tire of repeating that under Franco life was better. For a long time they weaved conspiracies and plots, relying on their adherents in the state apparatus and army which the democracy had inherited from the dictatorship.

The generals

"What is the Spanish Army like today? Has it at last got rid of its old stalwarts? Does it support the Constitution?"

Those were the questions I put to the Press Officer of the Ministry of Defence Laureano Garcia Hernandez, who received me in his office on Avenue Castellana. His answer was categoric and to the point:

"Our armed forces have recently been largely restructured. Not a single general, who received that rank under Franco remains in active service. The total number of highest-ranking officers has been cut by half - from 22 to 11, and each of them is obliged to retire on reaching the age of 64 (only the Chief of the General Staff can retain his post until the age of 67). Each branch of the armed services has its own military council with consultative functions. A reform of the military judicial system is currently under way: all cases of crimes committed by members of the armed services (except crimes against the Army itself) are now turned over to civil courts. It has also been decided to do away with the Supreme Military Justice Council as of May 1, 1988. Its functions will be taken over by the Supreme Court of Justice, which is made up exclusively of civilians. That is the legal aspect of the matter. But the main thing is the psychological climate. It has changed considerably over these past years.

I recall the anti-fascist officers who in Franco's lifetime had set up a secret organization - the Military Democratic Union. It was uncovered by the Franco regime and all its members sent to prison. Subsequently, the democrats among the military were released under an amnesty; even after the adoption of the Constitution, however, the authorities refused to rehabilitate them.

"This year they were fully restored in their rights," said Laureano Garcia Hernandez. But of course it is too late for them to resume their military service, and they themselves have long since found their place in civilian life. They have been compensated for moral and material damages.

Another example of the new approach to resolving the very real contradictions that arise in the course of the democratization of public life: the Constitutional Tribunal revoked the judgement pronounced by Judge Fernando Anaya Perez in the town of Soria where he passed sentence on Antonio Hernandez Garcia, a correspondent of the magazine Soria Semanal. The journalist had been sentenced for contempt of the authorities after having published an unsigned article criticizing the Mayor (a member of the Popular Alliance Party). The Mayor had twice taken the matter to court. After the first sentence was annulled, the Mayor had the case re-opened. As a result, the supreme legal body in Spain had to pass a special resolution putting an end to the victimization of the journalist.

The institutions of state power and administration are being consolidated on a democratic basis. The Constitution greatly restricted the rights of the head of state, but his moral authority today is higher than ever. Practically all parties including the republicans, approved of King Juan Carlos's personal contribution to surmounting the last surviving remnants of authoritarianism.

Judging from the results of public opinion polls, most Spaniards would like to see the policies pursued by the monarch today being carried on by his heir. The country follows with keen interest the education of his son Prince of Asturias Felipe. The young man - he will be twenty in 1988 - is much the same as other youngsters of his age. Like his parents, he is a keen sportsman, he enjoys

a good time with his friends, but when necessary can sit for hours studying. The Prince is to receive a full University education, he will also be given military training and knowledge, and has to perfect his knowledge of foreign languages.

Gradually the heir to the crown is being included in official ceremonies. For instance, he was in charge of the ceremony at which prizes bearing his name were presented. The prize was set up seven years ago and is already regarded as a prestigious award not only in Spain, but in other countries too. One of the 1987 prize winners was Secretary General of the United Nations Perez de Cuellar. Presenting the prize Prince Felipe underlined his contribution to the search for the elusive but attainable peace the world dreams of.

Speaking on behalf of the prize winners the writer Camilo José Cela (his works have been published in many countries, including the Soviet Union) paid tribute to the role played by the Prince's father in the events of recent years.

"We Spaniards," he said, "are proud of your father, the King. Without his participation we would not have had either national consensus or freedom."

The writer expressed his wish that the Prince should remain heir apparent as long as possible, so that the present head of state should continue to foster Spain's advancement along its chosen path.

Three obstacles

"What stands in Spain's way today?" That was the question I put to Alfonso S. Palomares, Director-General of the EFE News Agency and one of the best-informed people in the country. After a brief pause, he replied:

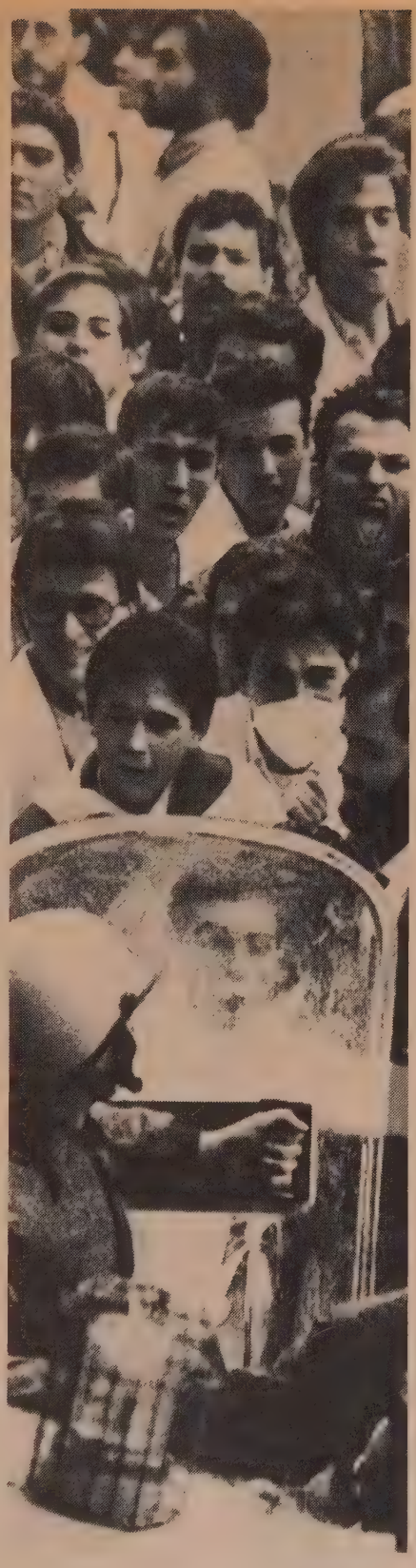
"Terrorism, socio-economic difficulties, and a certain weakening of the ruling party."

In the search for a solution to the first problem some signs of hope are apparent. Speaking in a Senate Committee, Minister of the Interior José Barrionuevo said that the governnment was prepared to initiate a dialogue with members of the Basque terrorist organization ETA and try to convince them to put a halt to the terror.

"We have not abandoned this idea," he added. "Talks are still probable. But their possibility will not last forever."

The invitation to open a dialogue, however, did not rule out the operation of the Anti-Terrorist Act adopted in 1984. Since it came into force, 1,604 people suspected of subversive activities have been arrested. The cases of 617, mostly ETA members, were sent to the courts.

A sensational trial of 8 members of a terrorist group which operated in Madrid took place in the city. The Prosecutor has called for prison sentences totalling 246 years for various crimes, including the murder of 25 people.



No holding back...

After its failure in Madrid, ETA moved its operations to Barcelona, where it carried out a number of terrorist acts. This included that most bloody act of terrorism in Spain's entire post-Franco history: the explosion in the underground garage of a supermarket, in which 22 people were killed. But the Barcelona group of ETA also failed - all its members were arrested.

The French authorities handed over to their Spanish counterparts one of the ringleaders of ETA's military organization, Santiago Arrospide Sarasola (better known as Santi Potros), who had in recent years lived in France and from there directed the underground activities of the armed groups. At the same time a large number of ETA documents were seized. They revealed that the terrorists were preparing to kidnap a large group of politicians and businessmen and receive large sums in ransom for them. The list included the former Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez, the banker José Angel Sanchez Asiain, the owner of the Corte Ingles company Ramon Areces, and others. Earlier, the poice had laid their hands on a list of more than 700 Basque businessmen who were paying ETA what it called a revolutionary tax, which enabled the organization to purchase arms and ammunition.

An agreement on combating terrorism signed in November and immediately dubbed the Madrid Pact received the backing of practically all the parties represented in parliament, including the two most influential Basque parties, the Nationalist and the Euskadiko Eskerra. Few remained on the sidelines.

The authors of the document once again called on ETA to stop their armed struggle, and on all citizens to help overcome fanaticism and intolerance in public life. The authorities offered to revoke the Anti-Terrorism Act, which had been criticized for hindering the search for reconciliation, and introduce instead changes in ordinary laws - with the maximum possible agreement of all parties - so that terrorism could still be effectively combated.

Meanwhile, the first steps were taken in the Basque country to transfer the functions of the Civil Guard to the local Basque police, the Ertzantza. And although not everyone in Madrid believes that this experiment will prove successful, the number of those who support it is certainly greater.

There have also been changes for the better in the economic field. After several years of crisis and stagnation, industrial production is picking up.

"We are expanding production," I was told by the director of the Citroen car plant in Vigo Javier Riera Nievas. "Our factory began production in 1959 and supplies 800 cars a day to trading outfits. We plan to increase output to meet the growing demand."

Business in the American General Motors subsidiary in Figueruelas (near Saragossa) is going equally well: a car comes off the conveyer belt every 45 seconds. The firm's public affairs manager Rafael Casas Arribas who accompanied us on a tour of the plant said the management was considering the introduction of a third, night, shift, so that the plant could work round the clock.

The car companies are full of optimism. In the first eight months of 1987, the number of new car plates issued was 42.3 per cent greater than in the same period of 1986.

This example reflects the state of affairs in one industry. Others could be cited as well.

The other side of the coin

One should not, however, conclude that the Spanish economy is flourishing. It has only just begun to overcome certain difficulties. Since it depends on the fluctuation of prices on the world capitalist market, any forecasts require the greatest circumspection. We were reminded of that once again by the recent fever on the Western stock markets. The financial upheavals did not bypass Spain. The biggest stock markets - in Madrid, Barcelona, Bilbao and Valencia - registered the sharpest drop ever in share prices. The President of Telefonica Luis Solana drew his own conclusion: "It was a sort of world referendum against Reaganomics."

Spain's membership of the European Economic Community (EEC) brought its share of problems, especially in agriculture. The people of Madrid had probably never before witnessed such a scene whereby the centre of the city was virtually paralyzed by lorries with trailers and containers.

At first the participants in this unusual demonstration hooted their horns for all their worth, after which they began removing from the containers boxes with tomatoes, spilt all over the road. A tomato hailstorm hit the façade of the French embassy. Hundreds of farmers and drivers brandished placards: "Open the border!" and "The Common Market should not mean deceit!"

Spokesmen for the organizations of producers and exporters of tomatoes in Alicante, Almeria and Murcia declared that Paris should not resort to impermissible discrimination against its southern neighbour by refusing to accept Spanish winter tomatoes, while it accepts such tomatoes from Morocco, which is not a member of the EEC. They stressed that the well-being of 82,000 Spaniards depended on the export of winter tomatoes.

Unemployment remains the most acute social problem. Official statistics indicate that there are almost three million jobless.

Experts from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) believe that current employment growth rates rule out any hope for a major reduction in unemployment in the near future. To bring the figure down at least to the 1979 level, the number of new jobs each year should increase by 4.1 per cent up to 1990. So far nothing like that is happening.

Unemployment, inflation, high prices are all problems inherited by the Socialists from the previous right-of-centre government of Calvo Sotelo, and all have yet to be resolved. Of course the difficulties which the leaders of the Socialist Workers' Party have come up against in fulfilling their 1982 pledges are connected with the special circumstances which prevail in the country. But they are also long-standing problems. The magazine Cambio-16 recalls the words of the famous Italian philosopher Niccolo Machiavelli: there is nothing harder to accomplish, nothing more likely to defy success, nothing more risky for day-to-day implementation than attempts to change the status quo and establish a new order; he who attempts to do this comes up against the hatred of those whom the old system favours, and finds only hesitant support on the part of those whom the new system favours.

Whatever the reason, the Socialist Party has been losing ground ever since 1982. At that time it received the backing of over 10 million voters. At the next general election, on June 22, 1986, the rose clasped firmly in the hand (the Socialists' emblem) lost one million votes. And at the elections held on June 10, 1987, to the European Parliament, to municipal and regional councils, another one-and-a-quarter million deserted the Socialist camp.

So it is no coincidence that as the next party congress approaches (it is scheduled for early 1988) the struggle within the party has sharpened between representatives expressing the interests of different sections of the population. A group of MPs, which includes Mario Trinidad, Luis de Velasco, Pedro Sabando, Juan Francisco Martin Seco and the former Minister for Public Works Julian Campo announced that it was preparing a document criticizing the authorities' economic policy. The leader of the SWP in Madrid Joaquin Leguina is also displeased with the party's domestic policy. And finally, the statement of the leaders of the Socialist trade union - the General Union of Working People - Nicolas Redondo and Anton Saracibar that they were resigning from parliament rang out as a grim warning to the cabinet. They declared that they could not vote in parliament for the draft state budget proposed by the government, and at the same time believed that as members of the Socialist Workers' Party they could not breach party discipline.

The leader of the biggest trade union organization in the country, the Workers' Commissions, Marcelino Camacho, a Communist, noted that the government's policy received the public approval of the President of the Banco de Vizcaya, Pedro de Toledo. "If I were a member of the ruling party," Camacho said, "I would have resigned immediately."

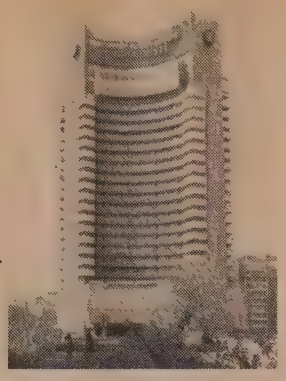
The Madrid correspondent of France Presse noted that for the first time in five years Felipe Gonzalez, despite his personal intervention, has not succeeded in concluding a social pact with the trade unions. What is worse, for the first time in many years of hostility, the two biggest trade union organizations - the General Union of Working People and the Workers' Commissions - are proposing to undertake joint protest actions against the government's social policy. Despite all the forecasts that the Socialists were here to stay, it looks as if the Socialist Workers' Party has come up against serious difficulties.

Madrid-Moscow

Those who have meat and those who have only bones.

Photos from Cambio 16 (Spain)

Bucharest impressions



One the eve of the 70th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution I happened to be in various parts of Bucharest: the anniversary was observed on a wide scale.

A function held in one of the Bucharest districts was attended by Communist Party veterans many of whom took part in the events of December 30, 1947, when Romania was proclaimed a people's republic. Grey-haired veterans, decorated with national and Soviet orders, spoke about the historic significance of the October revolution and about the struggle of the two peoples against fascism. They also noted that the Soviet Union, loyal to the Leninist principles of internationalism, helped the newly born republic to restore its economy and strengthen its positions in the world arena.

A month later the Romanians observed another important event - the 40th anniversary of the republic. It takes only ten minutes to walk from a city park, where a museum of old Romanian wooden architecture and peasant household utensils is situated, to the immense pavilion of the Socialist Republic of Romania erected for an international fair. And yet a whole epoch lies between them.

In the park, ancient village structures and utensils are displayed in an area of several hectares, while in the modern pavilion visitors can see the achievements of socialist Romania.

Industry, a leading branch of the economy, accounts for 60 per cent of the national income. Heavy-duty engines, computers, oil derricks and motor cars are some of the many products manufactured in Romania today. Between 1947 and 1987 industrial output has risen 115 times, while agricultural output has increased fivefold. The chemical and petrochemical industry has practically been built anew. The output of light industry has grown 210-fold since 1944. Transport has been expanding at a rapid pace.

The Communist Party has set the objective of building a comprehensively developed socialist society. Measures are being carried out to improve socialist production relations and to firmly establish the principles and standards of socialist ethics and justice; conditions are being created to promote the participation of working people in economic management. The financial and economic mechanism is being readjusted, and a new wage system has been introduced with the aim of heightening both collective and individual responsibility for the final results.

At the national exhibition of economic achievements I noticed photographs taken in different years. One shows a wasteland overgrown with weeds, and beside it hangs a photograph of an iron-and-steel works which was built on this site 20 years later. Another photograph shows a tumble-down hut. Before the revolution Romanian peasants were unable to combat recurrent droughts and to overcome poverty. There was not enough water to irrigate the fields, and people eked out a wretched existence from harvest to harvest.

Today up to seven tons of wheat is gathered on each of the three million-odd hectares of irrigated land. You will no longer see dilapidated huts in the villages. Romania is among the first countries in the world to have solved the housing problem.

There have been difficulties and miscalculations in the course of development, and new problems too have arisen. For instance, a number of drawbacks have appeared in agriculture along with the successes achieved in the past few years. Consumer demands for food have not yet been fully satisfied. The quality of some consumer and manufactured goods, including export products, leaves room for improvement. There is a shortage of electric power in the country.

An austerity policy regarding the use of energy resources was introduced in Romania a few years ago.

Scientists and engineers are working to introduce energy-saving technologies which even now are helping to increase output per unit of conventional fuel. Measures are being taken to improve the situation in coal mining and to make use of abandoned oil wells. New hydroelectric power stations with an enhanced capacity are about to come into service, and the country's first atomic power plant is under construction.

Special attention is given to the recycling of raw energy materials and equipment. The search for reserves in this field is an ongoing process. The newspaper Scinteia wrote recently that the iron-and-steel plants of Romania recycle about 62 per cent of the total volume of energy resources, whereas in many other countries the figure exceeds 70 per cent.

The national conference of the Communist Party held recently in Bucharest has become a major event in the life of Romania. It discussed urgent problems connected with the building of socialism, as well as the stage reached in fulfilling plans for social and economic development.

In his report to the conference General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu also touched on foreign policy ties, stressing the importance of Romania's participation in the work of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The news of a historic event - the signing of the INF treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States - was received enthusiastically in the republic. On behalf of the Romanian people, the delegates to the party conference hailed this event as a victory for reason and realism.

In Bucharest I talked with people of various ages and occupations. All of them expressed firm confidence that the aim of improving socialist society, set by the party conference before the nation, will be achieved, and that, acting jointly, all countries and peaceful forces will be able to bring about real progress in removing the nuclear threat.

SERGEI SVIRIN

Sergei Svirin has taken up his duties as New Times correspondent in the Socialist Republic of Romania. This is his first report from Bucharest.

SERGEI SVIRIN was born in Moscow in 1929. On graduating from the Moscow Institute of Oriental Studies, he worked at the State Committee for Television and Radio, as a TASS correspondent in Thailand and Singapore, and head of the Novosti Press Agency bureau in Peking.

Where is the "boat" heading for?

VLADISLAV CHIRKOV

Chaos reigns in Haiti. This may sound abominable, but there was order in Haiti under the dictatorship. The ruling upper crust luxuriated in and enjoyed life, while the police - the tyrant's gendarmes known as the "tonton-macoutes" (some of whom were included in the pecking order) protected this blissful existence. The tyrant signed one impeccably drawn up and brimming with good intentions decree after another. The ruler would cut the ribbon at the opening ceremony of an ordinary new telephone booth and would give his name to bigger establishments, and during his lifetime even (this was still the older Duvalier) to a whole city.

And the people? The people were silent. And what else could they do? To open one's mouth was a sure way of getting thrown behind bars or even executed. Besides, getting one's daily bread was the prime concern and this had to be done by arduous slave labour and - not infrequently - by begging for alms or by way of theft (after all, **they** were also stealing).

Looking to Uncle Sam for help

Now Haiti is learning democracy, bourgeois democracy, naturally. (To make reading easier all further mention of democracy here will imply bourgeois democracy.) The progressive forces, for instance, are not making any plans that would be more ambitious. Also alive is the faith in Uncle Sam, who will come and serve as an arbiter. And he will help with money. After all, those who fled from Duvalier most often headed for the United States. And refugees were admitted there, first of all those who would arrive by plane or passenger ship with a ticket in their pockets. But there were also "boat people" who were driven away by U.S. Coast Guard launches and many of these unfortunates died of hunger, drowned during storms or fell prey to sharks.

The United States is teaching democracy to the Haitians. Only several years ago it staked a claim on despotic regimes in Latin America and would cull dictators from time to time leaving in power only the more viable (sometimes literally) species. But now it appears to me that Washington is preferring bourgeois democratic regimes. Dictatorships in the backyard give people a chance to point an accusing finger! At this stage it is better to have a respectable system of representative government under which representatives represent either themselves or those who pay them and give them all sorts of privileges. The bourgeoisie has accumulated enough experience to avoid social upheavals without resorting to terror.

How do they teach democracy? By demanding elections which would produce a civilian president and parliament. The so-called National Government Council headed by General Henri Namphy scheduled elections on November 29. A Provisional Election Council was formed. But on election day the "tonton-macoutes" and the soldiers who remained loyal to the fugitive junior Duvalier began attacking polling stations and those who wanted to vote. The elections were thwarted.

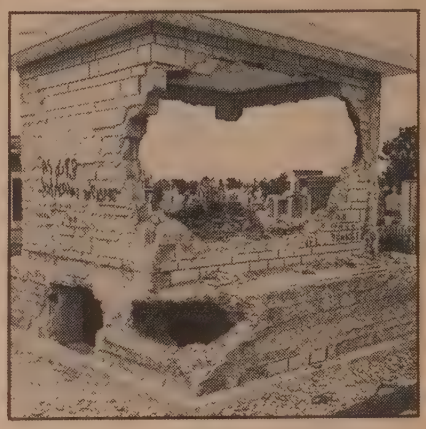
The ruling triumvirate and the command of the Haitian Army did absolutely nothing to stop the supporters of the dictatorship.

Disappointment now reigns in Washington. "We were fooled," the U.S. News and World Report magazine quotes a representative of the administration. "We believed what the government told us, and we shouldn't have," he said further. He was referring to assurances by the authorities in Port-au-Prince that everything would run smoothly for the elections.

Well, breakdowns are possible when the mechanism of bourgeois democracy is being assembled. It is not so easy to move from one regime to another. And everything centres on people - they alone bear ideas, traditions and social relations. When a transition is made to a new regime, quite a number of supporters of the old and obsolete worm their way into its system. They are quick in mastering the new terminology (not to be confused with ideology) and this keeps them afloat.

Washington angry

In its anger Washington announced the termination of military assistance to Haiti and threatened "economic sanctions." The message was unmistakable: boys, let's live in peace. Alright, yesterday we tolerated both "Papa Doc" and "Baby Doc," but now it is time to embrace



The Duvalier clan's burial vault in Port-au-Prince razed by the insurgent people in February 1986.
Photo from the weekly Pais Semanal (Spain)

Western values. It is interesting to note that a campaign exposing the terror of the "tonton-macoutes" has begun in the American press. Washington, news agencies report, has demanded that the junta take care to have the elections held in a proper way.

The flow of economic aid has been reduced but still continues. This continuation, I think, is designed to show that there is still faith in the future of Haitian democracy, the more so that most of the presidential candidates suit Washington, while those who do not have a very slim chance of being elected.

There is also enough manpower to bring Haiti into the ranks of Western civilization. Look how many Americans there are in tiny Haiti (population about six million). There are more than 200 in the embassy alone. What are they doing there? They are engaged in teaching. Teaching what? The American ways of doing things. Incidentally, exactly the

Mourning a "tonton-macoute" victim. From Newsweek (U.S.A.)

local "quiet Americans" put Jean-Claude Duvalier and his family on board a U.S. Air Force plane in February 1986 and flew him out - not to the United States but to Europe - in fact, as far away as possible. So it is in France that "Baby Doc" now lives. That is because France had once been the metropolitan country of the colony Haiti. And it is France that is now giving the new regime impressive financial assistance, thus helping Washington's efforts there. I will not describe the ex-dictator's life on the Mediterranean coast because there are enough similar examples when retired tyrants roll in clover and enjoy themselves to their hearts' content. It was a rare exception when the ringleaders of the military junta in Argentine were put in jail.

Contradictions and paradoxes

The situation in Haiti is extremely difficult and complex, full of contradictions and paradoxes. It is a whirlpool of the various struggling political groups and spontaneous expressions of popular will. There exist the oscillating law-enforcement agencies, which now attack the ultra-rightists and then the leftists. We see the apathy of some and the hysteric shrieks of others. It is almost impossible to find one's bearings in all this. And one can speak not so much about conclusions as about feelings.

And hasty conclusions are rarely correct.

Here is an example.

Immediately after "Baby Doc's" flight and the coming to power of the military-civilian junta, it was widely contended that in Haiti there was now simply "duvalierism without Duvalier." But it seems to me that even now, although almost two years have passed, it is still too early to give the ruling triumvirate any clear-cut definition. All that one can say without fear of being mistaken is that it is a transitional regime.

Now another seemingly trifling matter. When we write "on Haiti" it turns out that we hurt the national feelings of people in the neighbouring Dominican Republic. The island of Haiti in the Caribbean Sea is the home of two states - Haiti and the Dominican Republic. When we say "on Haiti" when describing the events in that much-suffering country we, so to speak, erase its neighbour off the geographical map.

So what is the junta's record? It is both negative and positive. Emigrés opposed to the Duvalier dictatorship were allowed to return to the country. Even Communists have been permitted to emerge from the underground. The former Provisional Election Council (a new one has been appointed now which is not recognized by the opposition) deleted from the list of candidates 12 aspirants who had compromised themselves by close cooperation with the Duvalier tyranny. Let us also recall that elections to the Constitutional Assembly were held on October 19, 1986. A new constitution was adopted in the course of the referendum on March 29 of this year and it bans the holding of public office by any person who is known to have been a founder or supporter of the dictatorship. But of course some official posts are nevertheless held by exactly such personalities. Now, naturally, they all are for democracy....

But the genie of democracy has been let out of the bottle and it is not all that easy to drive it back. It is growing bigger and bigger. A multitude of political organizations sprang up in Haiti immediately after "Baby Doc" was overthrown. There are two dozen candidates for the presidency now while in October there were more than thirty.

Judging by everything, pressure from the U.S. has had its effect: the junta has announced that general elections will nevertheless be held - this time on January 17. Won't the ultra-reactionaries be tempted to repeat their success?

In the meantime, chaos

Generally speaking, what can Haiti expect in the foreseeable future? Predictions in politics are just as unreliable as in chess. So I will limit myself simply to stating briefly who wants what.

The popular masses in this poor and rightless country, where witch doctors outnumber teachers, demand bread and justice.

That part of the bourgeoisie that engages in honest business is definitely for a parliamentary system that would give its backing to free enterprise. They too have suffered a lot from the dictatorship: the family of "Baby Doc," especially his father-in-law magnate Bennet, never hesitated to grab the juciest chunks.

The army is politically heterogeneous but it is dependent on Washington's subsidies and because of this is prone to accept its recipes. In any case this is how one can interpret statements made by General Regala, a member of the triumvirate and Minister of National Defence. It is also conjectured that the generals might want to take power into their hands.

Black marketeers, corrupt officials and the "tonton-macoutes" are doubtlessly yearning for a restoration of the old regime. But in the meantime, chaos reigns in Haiti. ■

REFLECTIONS

Not emotions only

I welcome with open arms the conclusion of an American-Soviet treaty eliminating intermediate-range missiles, though, frankly speaking, I have no particular liking for the U.S. administration due to its policy, which, to say the least, is far from being peaceful.

But, like people the world over, I have finally realized that today emotions should not be allowed to influence decision-making in the issues of war and peace. A much greater degree of success can be achieved if a calm and rational approach is adopted.

Scientists and experts have concluded that nuclear war cannot solve the dispute between the two ideologies. It can only destroy all life, annihilate civilization. Therefore, it is necessary to seek new ways of mutual understanding that will enable us to preserve peace.

I don't think we are under any obligation to actually like the U.S. administration. However, if anyone in the Soviet Union insists on breaking off contacts with the United States and the quest for mutual understanding, they must simply be persuaded to change their opinions or even rebuffed.

It would be more useful, I think, to try to discover what the two countries have in common rather than to recall confrontations and persist in the belief that only Americans are to blame for all the troubles.

With an eye to the future, the farsighted leaders of our countries (and I have no doubt that that is what they are) are acting sensibly by setting aside superfluous emotions. Experience shows that in our nuclear age it is practically impossible to advance further without making reciprocal concessions and considering each other's opinions.

Since the Soviet Union and the United States are the world's strongest powers and the maintenance of peace - the paramount issue of our time - largely depends on them, we should all of us make unprecedented efforts, meeting each other halfway.

I want peace, and it is precisely this desire which compels me, in spite of my former belief, to treat the United States with great patience and understanding.

VICTOR SOKOLOV
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Ecology and nuclear power plants

I think I speak the truth when I say that one important to us, as Communists and humanists, is the world, and in this respect nuclear disarmament between the United States and the Soviet Union Equally imperative is the problem of our world

The issues of industrial pollution and nuclear w debated in my country. As you are well aware, ec much opposed to the building of nuclear pow Chernobyl incident has once more shown the dan the use of nuclear energy even for peaceful pur

In this period of glasnost and perestroika you sho the question of nuclear power development and reliance on the nuclear energy programme.

RICHARD
San F

"I would like to congratulate Christian Pagneux of France, who won the first prize in the New Times international quiz held to mark the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution," writes Larissa Sorokina, a pupil of the ninth class from Sverdlovsk, in her letter to the editors. Together with her letter Larissa sent, as a gift to the French winner, a piece of chasing which depicts a Soviet cosmonaut, a collection of postcards with views of her city, and other souvenirs. (For details about the results of the quiz see issue 47.) These souvenirs, together with the official prize, will be presented to Christian Pagneux when he visits our office.

For us the New Year is associated with a decorated fur tree and Santa Claus, who brings gifts to children. It would be interesting to know how the New Year is celebrated in the countries where there is no winter as we understand it.

MARINA IVANCHENKO
Novosibirsk, U.S.S.R.

Gamecocks under a Xmas-tree

Roxas Boulevard, Manila's main thoroughfare, is lined with "Christmas trees" knocked together from boards or woven from wire or rice straw. Christmas bells the size of a man's palm and bucket-sized papier-mâché ones are displayed in every shop window. There is a wide variety of Santa Claus dolls to suit every taste - inflatable and plastic ones as well as those fashioned from cloth and stuffed with cotton-wool. The rooster's crow sounds ever louder and ever more frequently in the midst of all this pre-Christmas splendour. The sound can be heard all over Manila.

Cockfights around the Christmas tree are particularly exciting.

An acquaintance of mine, the prosperous owner of a veterinary clinic Alejandro Santos, told me that a gamecock put to fight around Christmas time can bring in greater profit in five minutes than his clinic can in five months.

Santos dissuaded me from attenting cockfights in Manila. "You see, they are too commercialized. The cockpits there are in elegant premises and the referees all wear bow ties just like referees in a boxing ring. I do not take any trainees there. It is quite likely that they will be given some food with a tranquilizer mixed in just before a fight, and their rivals may well be doped. Go to the provinces, to some rural area, where the dealing is square," he advised.

And so we reached the town of Tanauan. We approached a circular enclosure th metres in diameter surroun by a wire fence. It is borde with decorated Christmas tr There are benches for spe tors. The sun rose an hour so the time must be aroun o'clock. The fight will soon. There is an atmospher anticipation. The exciter grows when a man hol a bird under his approaches the scene. His is unhurried and digni People try to meet his g offer him cigarettes. And owner of the pit gives a Christmas present, a bro figurine of a gamecock. a no easy task to train a ga cock. First of all, one ha select a natural fighter among the chickens. Trai

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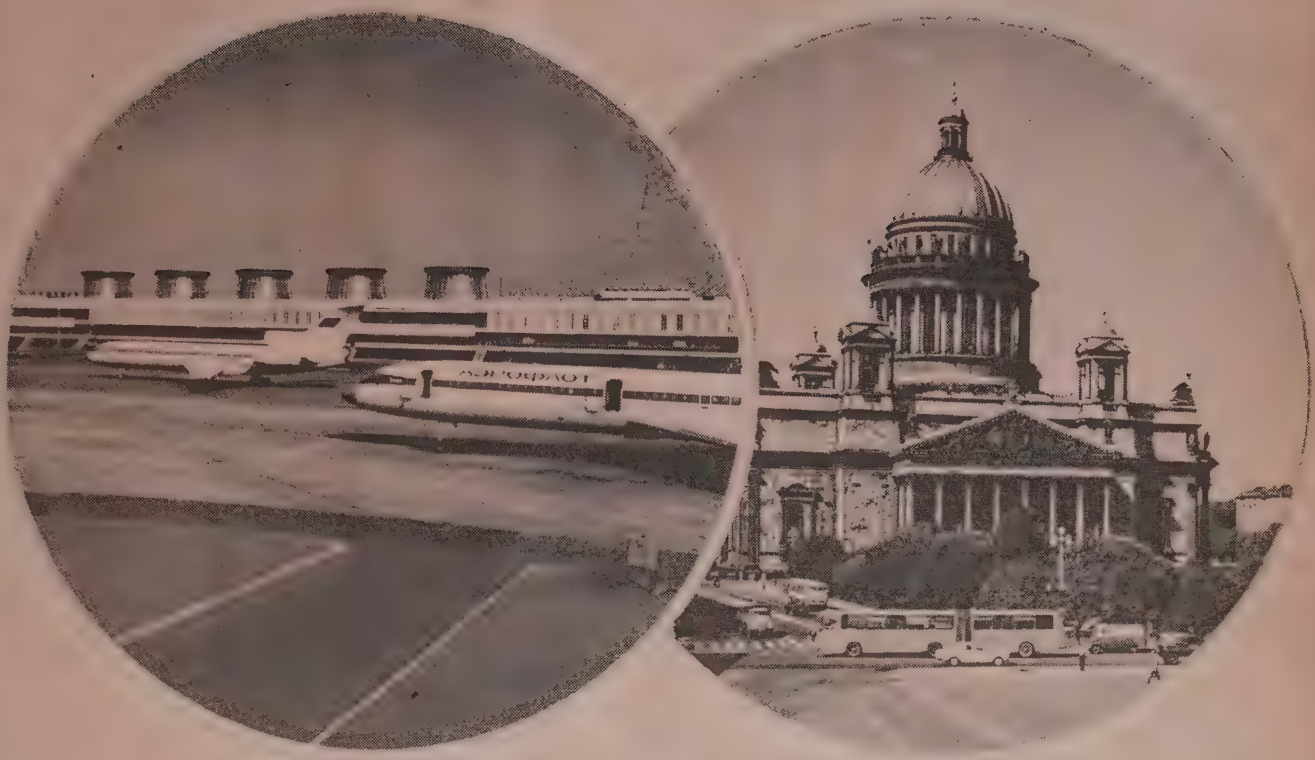

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SUGGESTIONS

Wishing you...

On New Year's eve people usually wish each other happiness, prosperity, good health and a peaceful life. We too have received such wishes from our readers. Below are excerpts from some of the New Year's letters sent by them.

As a long-time subscriber to New Times (since 1972), I want to thank you for the substantive information about events in the world and in your own country. Since the onset of perestroika and glasnost New Times has, in my opinion, become more factual and interesting. Stick to the course set and don't slow the pace!

KLAUS-HEINZ PERLICK
Berlin, G.D.R.

* * *

I would like to see in the coming year more articles about the changes now taking place in Soviet society. It would be very interesting to know how the policy of perestroika and glasnost has been received not only by factory and office workers but also by executives.

ANGEL LUIS PINIRI GONZALEZ
Havana, Cuba

* * *

I hope you will publish more articles on economics in the coming year. This is especially important since it is a well-known fact that the economy, as the basis of society, necessarily determines the policy of that society. You should not be ashamed of giving a critical analysis of economic mistakes. Don't forget about "blank spots" in history, because "those who do not know their past do not have a future."

A reader from Novokuibyshevsk,
U.S.S.R.

* * *

I propose that the inside back and back covers of the magazine should carry photographs devoted exclusively to the industrial and technical achievements of the Soviet Union, because photographs of, say, "outdoor museums" which you sometimes publish give little, if any, information to the reader. Moreover, photographs should be larger and of better quality. For there are still many people in the West who think that the Soviet Union, even today, is able to manufacture bast shoes only.

GURGEN MINASIAN
Toronto, Canada

* * *

Ten to twelve years ago you regularly featured items about leading politicians appointed or elected to high government posts in their countries. Today all that remains is the memory. Yet the principle you used in choosing information of this kind was unique, to my mind. I think the magazine could only benefit from the appearance on its pages of more such articles.

SERGEI BOGUSHEV
Kaluga, U.S.S.R.

* * *

Please print more material about Soviet economic policy. We would like to see detailed articles about cooperatives. I think all Italian readers of the magazine will back my request.

FRANCESCA RAGAZZI
Turin, Italy

FOLLOW-UP

Waiting for an invitation

In issue 41/87 we read a letter from Jens Baier, who expressed the wish to travel around the Soviet Union on his own, with a tent. This idea has long attracted us. We also would like to go for a three- to four-week cruise along one of the rivers in your country. Our team made a journey of this kind along the Danube and the Tisza. But we have not yet had a chance to travel in your country.

We have friends in the Moscow sports club Trud, but we are not allowed to go on a trip with them. We would like to know why. It is our hope that we shall be able to undertake such a tour next year. There is no doubt that Soviet tourists will be able to travel round our country too.

We shall come to you in our cars with trailers, with our own boats and canoes, and we hope that our journey will be an unforgettable one.

KARL FISCHER
Berlin, G.D.R.

gamecock requires great effort. The muscles of the gamecock's neck, wings and paws should develop and strengthen. To strengthen the cock's wings, it is thrown high in the air ten times each session. And ten such training sessions are held daily. Then the bird is massaged. The bird should be fed a special diet supplemented with vitamins. Later the birds receive actual fight training by being pitted against non-fighting cocks or against each other. Then steel spurs 5 to 10 cm in length are slipped over the natural spurs of the gamecock and it is trained in their use. It takes from a year and a half to two years to train the gamecock.

...A hammer striking a frying pan is a signal for the fight to commence. At first the cocks seem not to notice each other. Then the referee takes the birds by their wings and positions them breast to breast with each other. This sparks off franzied hatred and the birds attack each other with all their strength. They collide in mid-air. And then the steel flashes and one of the feathered warriors collapses. The next fight starts and the same noise and excitement accompany it. The stakes are not high, so everybody enjoys himself.

I was grateful to Alejandro Santos for advising me to visit that particular place. Present-day cockfights, especially in Manila, have a bad name. They are often turned into a source of financial gain and a chance to swindle. Many cockpits have become a breeding ground for crime. The prohibition of cockfights was even considered. But then the authorities decided to avoid hasty actions. There are neither stadiums nor cinemas in many areas of the Philippines, and a TV set in the home is still a rarity. So cockfighting is about the only amusement for ordinary Filipinos who want to relax.

LEONID KUZNETSOV

Manila

A feathered gladiator is all set for a fight.

The quest for ultraprecision

The creative atmosphere reigning in the Vibrotekhnika research centre breeds new ideas

Imagine a plastic box housing a disk, the size of your palm, supported by a thin metal plate. A thin power supply lead is attached to the box. You push a button and the disk begins to rotate, and however hard you try, your fingers are not strong enough to keep the axis still. There are no gears and, it seems, there is no drive, but the disk is rotating this way and that.

Here is another device, a microrobot driven by piezoelectric ceramic converters of mecanical ultrasonic oscillations. Several hundred miniature vibro-motors can fit into one cubic centimeter.

This is just one of the many amazing sights which you can witness in the laboratories of this research centre.

All these microscopic devices are driven by elastic vibrations which are not perceived by the human senses. All of them have been introduced and patents granted to their inventors.

The research and development centre Vibrotekhnika of the Kaunas Polytechnic Institute is headed by Professor Kazimieras Ragulskis, a Merited Inventor of the U.S.S.R. The first thing he told me when we met was that absolute precision is unattainable. Coming from a man who believes that precision is crucial to his work, this sounded rather paradoxical.

What then, one wonders, is the purpose of his research? The idea is, Professor Ragulskis continued, to attain progressively higher standards of precision to satisfy the great demand for it in all areas of technology.

Professor Ragulskis couches his ideas in very precise terms as I discovered immediately during our brief opening dialogue. I found out later that his ideas, original and offbeat as they may seem, are rooted in reality. Making bold and original decisions is part of his nature and something that has largely determined his career in research and development.

He became interested in vibrational mechanics twenty years ago when he became convinced that an entirely new way of thinking is needed in order to attain a breakthrough in technology. Modern mechanics draws heavily upon mathematics in order to keep up with modern scientific and technical progress. Specifically it is supposed to keep pace with the progress made in other fields of science and technology, such as electronics and optics, which it does not. Mechanical devices have lagged behind in precision; today they must be capable of instant action and sensitive as the finest nerve. When Professor Ragulskis first began his research in vibrational mechanics, going on to commit his entire career to it, this seemed a very remote possibility to many, but he felt certain that he was on the right track. He formed a research team at the Kaunas Polytechnic Institute of young scientists bristling with new ideas and dedication. He believed that the most important thing was to encourage creative people capable of working independently and unafraid of putting their ideas to the test.

According to him a new idea is far more important than nuts and bolts. Given a good idea, its technical realization is sure to come. That was something he impressed upon those he intended to rely on for early results and thus was formed the most important principle of his school of research and development.

Naturally, he gave much thought to both his personal task as a scientist and his goals as the leader of a research team. He made precision vibrational mechanics his final choice and adopted the same approach to organizing his team's work. In Ragulskis' opinion, every member of the team must deal with one problem only, whatever its practical ramifications may be, and that problem is ultraprecision vibrational mechanics. Since there is one problem there must be a single individual at the head of the team, directing the team's creative work, rather than managing them. Professor Ragulskis has no deputy in charge of research, but he has an assistant in charge of laboratory equipment and supplies. His official title is director of research.

This brings him into closer personal contact with members of the team. Anyone can come to him for advice, and he always knows how to help. He believes in centralized leadership and for good reason. Thanks to this system he can focus

Kazimieras Ragulskis.

the team's research effort on one top-priority avenue of research, while at the same time managing to do his own research and direct his team. "That is why we are so efficient," Ragulskis says and contentedly taps a finger on his desk.

Professor Ragulskis understands the impatience with which many researchers await results and practical returns for themselves. He believes that incentives play an important part in research and does a great deal to encourage researchers. Twenty of his associates have one hundred-odd inventions each and many awards to their credit. Eleven of them have become Doctors of Science. A great deal of work has gone into this: the team has ventured into areas which until quite recently were terra incognita.

Here are some examples. The research centre has a staff of more than 300, about one hundred of them - researchers. Every one of them publishes two papers and places two applications for patents per year.

These figures are excellent, but what makes them more than just mere statistics is that the people working here seek to put their ideas into practice right away. Good ideas must work and that is another principle the centre goes by: to see every idea all the way through - from the research and development stage to its embodiment in a prototype.

Taken collectively, everything that is researched and developed by Professor Ragulskis and his team has an extremely wide range of application. Micromanipulators and microrobots are needed today by nuclear physicists, astrophysicists, geophysicists, and biologists to name but a few. High-precision machine tools are needed in machine- and shipbuilding. They are used in the manufacture of aircraft and computers. The optomechanical industry and medical engineering cannot do without them. Micromanipulators are used to grow synthetic crystals. Instruments and devices developed at Vibrotekhnika exceed world standards, and this is all the more amazing since the centre has no experimental factory, only a workshop.

But the people working here can work with their hands. Professor Ragulskis believes firmly that the centre does not need an experimental factory. The centre's job, he says, is to conceive an idea, to develop and make a prototype. It is the job of others to initiate full-scale production. Most of the research projects go hand in hand with contracts, and all of them represent a quest for original and unconventional solutions. Professor Ragulskis has no patience with stick-in-the-muds. "Can you imagine," he says, "that there still exists a research centre dealing with gears, in this day and age! What's the use of it? They can go on doing it for another 200 years, but the idea has long been out of date, there can be no unexpected new solutions here!"

Gears are hardly likely to catch the imagination of researchers now, that is true, although they did in the past. George Stephenson is said to have placed his first locomotive on gear wheels and rails. The locomotive did not move. So the idea had to be abandoned.

One of the laboratories at the centre is concerned with ways to control vibrational fatigue and develops devices for relieving internal strains in various industrial machines under contract from factories, with work conducted on quantity production specimens. One of the latest projects resulted in a new method of metal casting via a vibration exciter. Every instrument or device developed at the centre is designed for a particular purpose and therefore everyone of them is quite unique.

Another laboratory at the centre is developing vibro-atomizers capable of producing microscopic droplets. The head of the laboratory Algimantas Babulys says the devices developed here have been put to advantage in many areas of medicine, technology, and research.

The research done at Vibrotekhnika has been widely acclaimed abroad. The centre has completed a number of projects for Bulgaria and the G.D.R. The famous Carl Zeiss company in the G.D.R. recently received a precision manipulator developed at the centre. A number of advanced precision micromanipulators and microrobots is currently being developed for the company.

Every new day brings new tasks for the research centre. Professor Ragulskis and his colleagues believe that it is their natural state and, indeed, their duty to constantly seek and find new solutions. The professor says so himself: "I've always got to look for something new!"

LEONID REPIN

Kaunas

THE SOVIET UNION IN STATISTICS

The deposits of Soviet citizens in savingsbanks come to 242.8 billion rubles as of January 1, 1987, and 257.4 billion rubles as of December 1, 1987.

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Between January and November of 1987 state investment in housing construction amounted to 22.1 billion rubles. During the same period 66.2 million square metres of living space were made available for the Soviet people.

What do these statistics represent? Compared with the same period in 1986, the volume of living space turned over for occupancy increased by 6.7 million square metres, or by 11 per cent.

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Vocational schools are the main source of skilled labour in the Soviet Union. In the eleven months of 1987 as many as 2,709,000 boys and girls were admitted to vocational schools of the State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education. Some 2,025,000 of these boys and girls attend day-time classes.

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Some 157.9 million tons of fodder (in terms of fodder units) for publicly owned cattle had been provided by the end of November. This constitutes 111 per cent of the amount of fodder procured during the same period of last year.

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As of November 1, there were 9,687 cooperatives in the Soviet Union, 3,662 of them ingaged in public services.

The cooperatives employ 100,000 people, against 15,000 in the beginning of the year. During a ten-month period in 1987 the cooperatives sold goods worth 165 million rubles.

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Between January and October of 1987 more than 50 billion rubles of state investment were used in construction of enterprises in major industrial complexes, i.e., five per cent more than during the same period in 1986. As many as 197 major projects, including those not completed in 1986, entered into operation.

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Over the period of ten months in 1987 the sale of vodka and liqueurs in the Soviet Union was 20 per cent less than in the same period of the previous year, with the sale of wines falling by 21 per cent and of champagne by 0.5 per cent. At the same time the sale of cognac and beer rose by three per cent.

(Data provided by the U.S.S.R. State Committee for Statistics)

Making up for lost time

The new phase of the economic reform in Poland is the topic of New Times analyst Vladimir Kvint's discussion with the head of the socio-economic policy department at the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, PUWP CC Member Marek Holdakowski.

New Times: What is the purpose of the second phase of the reform? Is it to show evidence of the failures of the first stage or, on the contrary, is it the result of a successful implementation of its goals?

Marek Holdakowski: Similar questions are also asked in this country. Certainly the division into phases is somewhat symbolic since we are talking about the implementation of one and the same reform. What are its objectives? The first goal is to make the economy work more efficiently. The second one is to provide the economic system with additional tools.

It is appropriate to remind you of the conditions under which the reform began. The economic structure of the Polish People's Republic in 1981 was unbalanced and seriously unregulated. At the industrial enterprises conditions were unequal both on the level of the use of productive capacities and the level of their efficiency. A sharp drop occurred in the supply of all types of production resources, particularly those imported from capitalist countries. This was a result of the sanctions proclaimed by the West against our country, which cost us totally 10 to 20 billion dollars.

N.T.: Has the highest postwar level in production and labour productivity been achieved today?

M.H.: Yes, and what is more, this level has been exceeded by the simultaneous deflation of power and material intensity of production. The economy is responsible for the development from a negative to a positive balance of trade. Such a result can hardly be described as a failure. The argument that the first phase of the reform failed is deliberately embraced by our political opponents, sometimes because of insufficient information or to show off, in plain disagreement.

What I have said does not, certainly, mean that all is going smoothly - that we have solved all the problems. The achievement of a balanced foreign trade turnover remains a key problem. This presupposes the development of the economy with a simultaneous payment of a foreign debt. Essentially, the question is how to carry out a more dynamic economic policy.

The current relationship in this country between payment and labour is unsatisfactory. An effective method has not yet been found to straighten out the differences in the status of enterprises at the start of the reform, which I mentioned earlier. It led to several stop-gap measures to the building up of all kinds of "props." The task of the second phase is to eliminate everything that stands in the way of the economic mechanism having an objective and decisive effect on the economy.

This difficult undertaking is now under lively and open discussion in Poland. Its comlexity and vast scope breed some incorrect conclusions. Some people link the new phase primarily with a higher price level, others emphasize an accelerated development of the private sector. Both approaches are lopsided and lack depth. The point is that the second phase includes a whole package of changes that may be boiled down to five major directions.

The **first** direction is to encourage the enterprise and the activity of both the people and work collectives, eliminating everything that hampers initiative.

The **second** direction is to keep to the principle of three s's: self-support, self-financing, and self-management of enterprises.

The **third** is to make the organizational economic structures more flexible, to ensure the interrelationship between various economic units. It is important to select, enhance and develop efficient structures, while inefficient enterprises should be restricted and eliminated. Market relationships are to be expanded to improve the effectiveness of the economy. The latter, however, must not create any illusions since it will be applied only in certain economic fields, that is, in those areas where it may have a healthy impact on the national economy without the threat of negative side effects.

N.T.: What economies do you have in mind?

M.H.: Those which are ready and have a large number of equivalent producers and the opportunity to achieve positive results in competitive conditions, where the latter may be used as a tool for optimization. This concerns, for example, small-scale producers, a considerable portion of light and ceramic industries and metalworking. However, it would be a mistake to expect good results from the market mechanism in such areas as coal-mining industry, metallurgy or power generation.

N.T.: As I see it, your strategy aims at releasing the state from small concerns which will be better off in the hands of the self-regulating mechanism, and concentrating the state's efforts on important and major matters that determine the work of the whole economy.

M.H.: I would like to touch on two more directions of the reforms. The **fourth** direction is to ensure the economic balance, to approach the condition when it enjoys the balance of all the markets, including investment, supply, consumer and labour markets. We will be working to change the correlation of forces between the customer and the supplier in all fields of the national economy. The buyer must be stronger. He must be in a position to lay down terms to the producer, the supplier. A stronger position for the consumer will make for a better functioning of the economic mechanism. This correlation of positions between the buyer and the seller, about which we are talking, must become a norm in a socialist country. In my opinion, this is an important feature of socialism which must have a great influence on the hierarchy of the factors that determine the quality of living. In this condition, the market's absorption of wages is no less important than the average statistical wages which, unless very underpinned, is something unreal. If the commodity is purchased in conditions other than normal, it debases and devalues the material remuneration for work.

The **fifth** direction is the introduction of

economic parameters, including prices, exchange rates, interest rate, the evaluation of capital assets, etc. They must reflect the actual state of matters on the market or else the economic decisions made by enterprises may prove erroneous and inefficient.

The second phase concept should be regarded as a system of intercorrelated changes. They may be described as a package of measures which must be translated into life only as part of the whole. One cannot select from this package and introduce only those features

The rates at which the second phase of the economic reform should be implemented were fixed by a nationwide referendum on November 29.

TASS photo

which are easy and attractive to people and shirk those that are objectively necessary. If, for instance, 90 per cent of the "easy" projects are introduced and 10 per cent of the "hard" propositions are left undone, we will not achieve the expected results.

N.T.: Economic formations have always evolved on the basis of the solution of those contradictions they themselves most frequently engendered. Socialism, to my mind, has one non-antagonistic but inherent contradiction. It relates to seeking a simultaneous solution of two largely conflicting tasks, namely, to ensure social equality and, at the same time, to differentiate wages and incomes of the population. How are these problems being resolved in Poland?

M.H.: Let me begin with a statement of a more general order. When socialism was coming into being 40 years ago (naturally, I am talking about Poland), we declared that "our goal is to satisfy all social needs." But for a long time we did not specify, or specified too seldom, what conditions were to be kept to satisfy the above needs. We did not make it a point either that human activity differs not only by time input, but also, a great deal, by a result. It led to the condition when "gaps" appeared in social consciousness and the principle "to each according to his work" became, in fact, distracted from the results of the work done. I submit that today we urgently develop and correct this principle.

N.T.: Are you saying that to do much does not mean to accomplish much?

M.H.: Yes, I am. The correlation between work input and its result is estimated in isolation from each other. It has had a deteriorating effect on the character and habits of people and corrupted the hierarchy of social values. Note, for example, that such notions as "personal material success" or "prospering person" occupy a very low place in this scale of values with the exception, perhaps, of outstanding scientists. This must be given serious thought. The current phase of socialist construction calls for the rearrangement of the current scale of values. The emphasis should be placed on everything that facilitates the country's progress and that, in the long run, does good to society. Personal success is nothing to be ashamed of. Otherwise, we would find it very difficult to encourage and utilize those who achieve outstanding results. It goes for both enterprises and individuals.

N.T.: The reorientation of the economies to human problems now under way in Poland and the U.S.S.R. leads to the enhancement of morality principles in the economy and this, in turn, has a healthy effect on the psychology of society....

M.H.: Yes, the studies made assure us that there is great social need for an economic reform. However, we are also aware that as the second phase proceeds we shall encounter problems related to the consciousness and the psychology of the masses and individuals that will manifest themselves in different ways towards concrete decisions. This is borne out by the referendum results. And there is nothing surprising or unexpected about it.

N.T.: What changes in the management pattern does the economic reform propose? This question relates to both branch and regional management.

M.H.: Perfecting the economic management is a remarkably important, non-capital-intensive tool to raise the efficiency of social production and increase labour productivity. But for a long time the importance of this tool was underestimated in socialist countries. I believe that now the situation will be changing. The second phase of our reform begins with the reorganization of the centre. Its objective in the sphere of management is, first, to give the centre greater oppportunities to concentrate on working out the economic strategy. With this end in view, its personnel is relieved of the current management of enterprises. Secondly, ministries must represent the state in relation to enterprises, but not vice versa, as it has been until now. With this purpose, a single ministry of industrial affairs has been set up instead of a number of industrial ministries. On the whole, the structure of the central apparatus has been reinforced by functional bodies as an alternative to branch units.

The centre will be better and more effectively able to set out the concept of the country's economic development while results should be ensured by enterprises. In other words, the centre must represent the interests of the state and the enterprises must carry them out. Enterprise collectives and self-governing bodies are granted more rights and at the same time their responsibility for the results of the work done grows. Thus, the reform as a result will realize its major principle, that is, the ensuring of a permanent intercorrelation between democracy and discipline.

N.T.: The reform in Poland goes on simultaneously with the radical economy management reforms in the U.S.S.R. To what degree is the experience of Soviet perestroika made use of in Poland?

M.H.: Our reforms are very much alike and are developing in similar directions. The restructuring going on in the U.S.S.R. is having a great influence on all socialist countries. Poland, as a matter of course, is independently building its concepts in the sphere of socio-economic mechanisms, taking into account its own development and historical experience. However, Soviet perestroika, its scale, rate and scope are exerting great influence, especially politically and psychologically, on the development of the reform in Poland. Both reforms, as well as the processes launched in other socialist countries, facilitate the acceleration in restructuring the mechanism of economic cooperation so needed in the system of the Council for the Mutual Economic Assistance. In our opinion, this process must also be executed quickly and firmly, which, in its turn, will create extra opportunities, impetus and incentives for the perfection of the economic mechanism within CMEA countries.

For various reasons the systems of economic management in a number of socialist countries have come, as it were, to a standstill in the past years. It was a losing factor for socialism, whose economic potential and attractiveness were declining. Now all possible steps must be taken to make up for lost time and speed up the restructuring of the integration mechanism in the CMEA system. I believe that it meets the principal interests of socialism as a social formation, as well as the interests of all the socialist community countries.

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A close-up of Nissan

YURI TAVROVSKY

The mid-eighties may go down in the history of Japan either as the heyday of its economy, or as the beginning of a relapse into long-forgotten troubles: mass unemployment, ruination of whole industries, a decline in Japanese products' competitiveness. Having mastered the rules of the "free trade" game to perfection, and having learned to beat its rival partners at it, Tokyo has suddenly discovered, to its unpleasant surprise, that the rules are subject to arbitrary and unexpected changes. The New York conference of the five leading Western countries' Finance Ministers, held in Septemberr 1985, adopted the decision to work for a sharp fall in the dollar and for a rise in the rival currencies, the yen included. In Tokyo this decision was described, with good reason, as "a gang rape of Japan." The prices of Japanese products jumped, its export deliveries shrank, and its company profits went down. The automobile industry was hit the hardest. Japan's eleven leading automaking companies, which compete not only with their foreign counterparts, but among themselves as well, have had their problems further aggravated. The Nissan Motors company, Japan's second and the world's fourth biggest car manufacturer, is a case in point.

The Nissan (which is short for Nihon Sangyo) was established in 1926 and, four years later, started making cars with a trade name which included the Japanese word "dat" ("quick as a rabbit"). The car lived up to its name, and as early as in 1934 the Nissan cars appeared on the Japanese export list. Having come to be known as Datsun, they embarked on their road to world renown.

The rat race

In 1986, the Nissan-owned Japanese plants alone manufactured 2,240,000 cars of which 1,300,000 were exported. Another 400,000 cars and jeeps were made by the company's plants located in the U.S., Britain, Mexico, Spain and Italy. These impressive statistics are marred somewhat by figures of a different kind. The Nissan company's output in Japan proper has decreased by 10.3 per cent, the export, by 9 per cent, and sales on the home market, by 2.6 per cent as against the last-year figures. Nissan particularly resented being pushed back by its traditional rival Toyota. As a result of Operation T-50, timed to Toyota's 50th anniversary, the latter managed to grab hold of 53 per cent of the home market as against 42 per cent a year before. As for Nissan, its share of the market dwindled from 26.6 per cent to 24.8 per cent.

What's behind the rundown?

The blame for it is commonly laid on the rise of the exchange rate of the yen. An increase of the Japanese currency's exchange rate by one yen takes an estimated six billion yen off the Nissan's profits. In September 1985 the dollar fell from 244 to a mere 135 yen. Yutaka Kume, President of Nissan, was quite frank about it. Besides currency fluctuations, he admitted, "the decline in domestic share had a serious effect in the final analysis." This decline had begun back in 1983.

One could go on and on, but the most accurate diagnosis of the "Nissan disease" came from the Business Tokyo magazine which described the image of the Nissan cars as lacking in "distinctive character." With all the other conditions - specification, prices and credit terms - being equal in this class of cars, motorists have preferred of late the more eye-catching Honda, Mazda or Toyota models to the sedate and comfortable "sons of rabbit" which have become more like obese old hares. "This image," Business Tokyo believes, "resulted from Nissan's bureaucratic structure which tends to pool many different opinions during the new model development process. The result is a car developed by a committee and naturally ends up without any special character."

A recipe for survival

Diagnoses of the disease vary, and so do the recipes for curing it. I heard a couple of them while still on my way to one of the Nissan's assembly plants in Zama near Tokyo. A public relations lady told me in a confident and well-trained voice about the new models which were certain to put the company right. "I have hire-purchased a Sunny recently, and now I recommend it to all my friends. You, too, would be well-advised to buy this best seller of ours intended for younger motorists. Before this year is out we shall replace practically all the obsolete models by new ones and start - step by step and per cent by per cent - regaining our position on the home and world markets."

Mitsuru Shiozaki, a Nissan veteran, deputy general manager of the famous Zama plant's administration department, takes a different view. Incidentally, all the distinguished visitors to Japan are taken to this plant which is known for its highly efficient - and trendy - car-body welding line. Behind a protective railing, a small miracle happens every 24 seconds: robot welders fuse car-body parts together into a single whole with what looks like twenty strokes of lightning, without any human interference. "Ours was indeed the first industrial company to introduce a robotic assembly line in 1968," Mitsuru Shiozaki said. "Today Nissan's five assembly plants use 2,100 robots, or more than a quarter of the total employed by the Japanese automobile industry. Besides, Nissan was first to lay the foundations of peaceful coexistence between blue and 'steel collars' - factory workers and robots. In 1983 we signed an agreement with the company's trade union guaranteeing against robots crowding human operatives out. By now robots have taken over 98 per cent of such messy jobs as welding and car-body painting. They are entrusted with the more complicated functions as well as installing windshields and rear windows, rear lights, seats, tyres, storage batteries and a spare wheel, the adjustment of highbeams, the filling of petrol tanks and windshield sprinklers. Robots can do much, and our engineers believe that they can take over up to 40 per cent of assembly operations. True, this will re-

Japan is a major car-manufacturing country whose expansion into the American car market is often likened to Pearl Harbor.
Reproduced from Asahi

quire an extra 8,500 robots and heavy capital investments. So far, robots' share in the assembly process constitutes 5-10 per cent. Therefore robotics does not offer a quick solution to our problems yet. In general, while giving robots and computers their due, we do not believe in technocratic solutions. The human being - the worker and the engineer - still plays the leading role in modern production, and will keep it for a long time to come."

More democratic and faster

We approached the master conveyer and saw an endless row of "best sellers" - the Sunnies - flowing past. All of them looked alike, but not quite. The number of variations on the basic model "theme" runs into 2,100, let alone 23 colour versions. The thing is that every car is made to the specifications requested by sales agents in and outside Japan. Requests are put into the master computer which sets a production programme for a two-shift workday. The subordinate computers select the requisite units and components and contact the computers of the leading supply companies, forty of which cater to the plant. Organizing a timely supply of components is no easy matter. Only a third of them are made right at the plant, and orders for the rest are distributed between two different suppliers. Should one let the plant down, the other will step in. Failure to provide components on time is mercilessly punished by witholding further orders. Therefore supply holdups are practically ruled out.

The conveyer belt moves almost at walking speed. The workers clad in uniform overalls with sewed-on insignia perform their operations with swift efficiency. Not a second is wasted.

Although I was admitted to the plant on condition that I would not enter into conversations with the workers, I still hoped to ask a question or two. The moment I set my eyes on the assemblymen, however, I realized that keeping up with the pace the conveyer had set them and chatting with visiting journalists was not humanly possible. All the more so since it was already five minutes past the break time, but the half-day output norm of 400 cars - and the lunch break - were still three cars away.

Exactly three minutes later, the conveyer belt came to a standstill so that the workers could take a breather. "They work eight hours a day, with an hour's break for lunch and two ten-minute 'coffee pauses,'" my guide explained. "There is a 60-minute interval between shifts in case the need for overtime work arises and any of those in the first shift wish to do it for an extra pay. Most are willing to do that and take it hard when the influx of orders runs low, compelling the management to cut back on overtime or to stop it altogether. Now business is picking up, and we hope our order-books will be full enough to keep the workers busy on Saturdays again. The workers are off every Sunday, for five days during the 'golden week' at the end of April and the beginning of May, nine days in August and another nine days for New Year. I think this arrangement is more convenient and more rational for families than the practice of taking two- or three-week leaves common in the countries I have worked in.

"For a start, a young worker is paid 120,000-130,000 yen, and a young engineer or office worker, 140,000-150,000 yen a month. The Nissan employees get a pay rise from year to year. A skilled veteran worker makes about 5,000,000 yen a year (including biannual bonuses the size of which depends on the company's overall profit). Previously, the bonuses totalled 5.6 monthly payments, and now the total constitutes 5.4 monthly payments. All company personnel, from a worker all the way up to the president, is supposed to do his level best. Incidentally, at Nissan - as in practically all the other Japanese companies - there are no yawning gaps between labour and management so typical of the Western countries. The superintendent of the shop we are in now draws 700,000-800,000 yen a month, which is only six times the pay of a beginner. You won't find executive canteens here, all of us wear identical overalls, and recently a new form of address has been introduced at Nissan: in conversation you no longer have to use the title of the person you are speaking to. For instance, I am now addressed simply as Shiozaki-san, not as deputy general manager Shiozaki. This is more democratic, and takes less time. In general, we try to create a homey atmosphere at the plant. This is possible given only minimum personnel fluctuation. As a rule, factory and office workers sign up for lifetime employment with our company, although even the big corporations are gradually relinquishing the famous Japanese lifetime hire system. We are rather particular about who we take on: a job applicant is supposed to have a full 12-year secondary education, and be prepared to gradually master all the skills related to his job. We emphasize precisely the worker, his qualifications, inventiveness and enthusiasm, and regard foremen, engineers and managers as workers' assistants. They do not spur the workers on, as their U.S. and West European counterparts do, but inspire them. Mutual respect is indispensable, and we have sincere respect for the workers, lunch with them, socialize during company festivals, go on joint tourist trips taking our families along, talk with them and invite their suggestions as to what should be improved. Our management model is grassroots-oriented. Ideas must come from below, and those at the top are only to endorse them. I've heard that restructuring is now under way in the Soviet Union; well, we at Nissan are also engaged in restructuring of our own, and our workers are taking an active part in it. Here are just a few examples I can think of at the moment. At the assemblymen's suggestion, car bodies are now tilted in

certain operations to allow an easier access to their bottoms. Another thing: we have provided the workers, at their request, with kit bags which they can wear on their belts, to spare them the trouble of running back and forth between their work stations and the tool racks. But these are only drops in the ocean. Hundreds and even thousands of improvements and innovations are suggested because practically all the workers are active in the 'quality groups,' and what are these quality groups?"

Making elephants of mosquitoes

"Six to eight teammates voluntarily form a group and get together once or twice a month to discuss the ideas which occur to them in the process of work or study. They pursue three goals: to improve product quality, working conditions and to step up efficiency. Each group elects its own leader. Like all the other members of the group, he engages in this activity without pay and not during work hours. The groups function independently of the management, but we feel the need to encourage them and offer them a two-hours' pay every month. Every good suggestion fetches a special pay. Our innovators' initiative brought us eight billion yen last year. We have now come to the door of the 'secret room' where the quality groups have their sessions. We can't go in - the room opens only after hours, and, besides, representatives of the management are not supposed to visit these rooms where the groups keep their records, and where machine tools and other facilities for technical experiments are installed."

The door proved locked indeed, and so we just perused a notice board nailed to the plywood wall of the "secret room," which, incidentally, proved quite interesting. It displayed colour photographs of the workers who had distinguished themselves, some flow charts, and a hieroglyphic slogan inscribed in bright, almost phosphorescent paint which said: "Our goal is to reduce spoilage to nought!" Under the slogan there was a list of last week's faults: "Monday - 1 fault (a gap between body and bumper), Tuesday - no faults, Wednesday and Thursday - one fault each (not specified). Friday - no faults." A neatly framed announcement contained workers' pledges for the current year: "To increase work efficiency by 14.9 per cent, to reduce users' complaints to zero, to sell one Nissan car per every team member to relatives or friends, to have no accidents on the job, to drive our own cars accident-free." A short distance away from the "secret room" and from a row of chairs and benches for the workers to relax on, there were two Sunny cars made on the previous day so that the two shifts could compare the products of their work.

"The movement for better product quality and higher work efficiency and economy involves not only the workers, but all of us here," Shiozaki-san explained. "As a rule, the names and forms of the campaigns change every two years lest the slogans should wear off. Now the 'keti-keti' drive is on. Some claim it to be a mere repetition of Toyota's previous campaign called 'Squeeze a dry towel drier still.' The purpose of the campaign may be the same - economy as a factor of competitiveness - but their forms differ. 'Keti-keti' is an imitation of an attacking mosquito's whine. We want to be as purposeful and persistent as mosquitoes, and to be ready for any reforms, even the slightest ones. Sometimes we feel the sting of a 'mosquito bite' ourselves. The executive staff had its salaries cut last year, and there was a massive reshuffling to sort the employees out in accordance with their merits, their ability to generate ideas and to vigorously put them into practice. Some of the executives, engineers and workers, had to take turns at selling cars and studying market requirements. Each plant and each section of the managerial staff has been made self-dependent financially like a company in its own right. A drive to save electric energy is on - in the summer, our plants give their personnel days off in midweek, but work on Saturdays and Sundays when electricity is available at a discount. We save 300 million yen this way. The clerks of our Tokyo headquarters have thought of exchanging old forms and records for toilet paper.... Thus, yen by yen, we save thousands and millions...."

Shiozaki-san's story can be augmented by examples from the newspaper Asahi Shimbun whose correspondent interviewed some of the workers who were particularly hurt by the "mosquito bites." They complained of dimly-lit toilets, of unbearable heat in the factory shops where air-conditioners had been turned off to save electricity, and the inadequacy of the cheap gloves provided instead of the more expensive cotton ones. The managers called in to help paint some factory shops floors on a Sunday failed to finish the job on time, and the workers were told to stay after hours and to do the rest of the painting free. Compensations paid out to those who use public transportation to and from work have been halved. The newspaper quotes a worker as saying: "In January 2,900 workers of our plant manufactured 28,000 cars. In July 30,000 cars were made by a work force slashed to 2,300. That was achieved through extra overtime."

Such examples probably abound but it is obvious anyway that Nissan management, above all, is going to carry out its save-200-billion-yen-a-year scheme through blue- and white-collar labour speedup and not solely by saving electricity or exchanging old documentation for toilet paper.

Speed, reliability and quality combined make for success. Nissan's test ground.

The autoworkers' resentment caused by the "painful mosquito bites" is not likely to develop into open resistance, however. After the historical four-month strikes and massive layoffs in 1953 the management succeeded in taming the labour unions, the current leader of which said, for instance: "On a rainy day one ought to use an umbrella rather than demand the sun." Another reason why the "mosquito bite" policy is hardly going to meet with resistance is that despite the growing difficulties and discomforts, the top-skilled workers of Nissan and other companies are still in a privileged position. Their wages are at least 30 per cent higher than those of the workers employed by smaller companies. They enjoy more days off, shorter hours and working conditions the like of which few smaller companies can touch - as if the latter functioned in an entirely different country. Therefore, even those who do not believe that Nissan is a close-knit family are trying hard to pretend they do. The question is not whether the "keti-keti" campaign is a success and whether Nissan manages to succeed in saving the much-coveted 200 billion yen and to keep on top thanks to new car models. Rather, the question is what new surprises those laying down the rules of the "free trade" game have in store for Nissan and other giants of the Japanese economy.

Tokyo - Moscow

The long road to the stars

Another "space shift" on board the Mir orbital complex is over. It lasted for about seven months in all, with Yuri Romanenko logging over 300 days, and Alexander Alexandrov replacing his former partner for the remaining four-odd months of the mission. While in orbit, the spacemen carried out assignments of immediate practical importance to the national economy; took sensational pictures of a Supernova which had flared up in the Grand Magellanic Cloud; carried out some onboard metallurgical jobs and studied the so-called human factor of long-haul space flights. Sooner or later, man will set foot on Mars and other planets. Space technology is making headlong progress and it is therefore necessary to accumulate experience in superlong flights which, so far, have been confined to the environs of our own planet.

Two crews were formed to replace the old-timers on Mir. The first crew comprised the cosmonauts Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov and Anatoly Levchenko. The second threesome consisted of Alexander Volkov, Alexander Kaleri and Alexander Shchukin.

"The Cosmonaut Training Centre and other organizations," Alexei Leonov, deputy chief of the centre, told newsmen, "made every effort to ensure the continuity of the research programme being carried out on board Mir. Romanenko and Alexandrov were faced with complicated tasks. But it is only natural, too, for each new crew to go one step further than its predecessor. The newcomers will take up where the previous crew left off, doing research into natural science, experimenting in zero-gravity industrial techniques, space medicine, and conducting astrophysical observations. Incidentally, the Quant module in which Romanenko and Alexandrov conducted their astrophysical research remains part of the orbital complex."

The road travelled by Soviet cosmonauts to permanent orbital stations has been a hard one. The number of docking units (moorings of sorts) capable of accepting various space vehicles such as manned and automatic transports and specialized modules, kept increasing, while control systems continued to grow in efficiency. Now Mir spends practically no fuel on attitude changes which are executed by means of special gyros drawing their power supply from solar-cell panels. Fuel is required for docking only when attitude control engines are functioning. In this case, too, fuel is economized through the optimization of docking procedures. New techniques recently introduced by the Ground Control Centre have reduced fuel consumption on dynamic operations by half. The Mir station, with its six docking units, has not yet exhausted its potential. It can in fact accept up to five modules, in which case the total weight of the complex will amount to 135 tons. The complex is expected to take its final shape by the year 1990. There can be little doubt that it was the U.S.S.R.'s progress in building orbital stations, which prompted the U.S.A. to launch an analogous programme; foreign experts are of the opinion, however, that the Soviet Union has left America far behind in this respect.

The first crew of the Soyuz TM-4 spaceship at the Yuri Gagarin Cosmonaut Training Centre: Vladimir Titov, pilot-cosmonaut of the U.S.S.R., commander (right); Musa Manarov, flight engineer; Anatoly Levchenko, honoured test-pilot (left). TASS photo

Out of the three cosmonauts who have taken over from the previous Mir crew, Only Vladimir Titov, 40, is a veteran cosmonaut. Born into a serviceman's family in Sretensk, the Chita Region, he worked in an oil exploration team for a while after school. In 1966 he entered the Chernigov Flying School, graduated with honours, stayed behind as an instructor and for a few years taught trainees to fly. The year 1976 marked a turning point in his life: Vladimir Titov was enlisted in the preparatory class of the Cosmonaut Training Centre. He mastered the spaceships of the Soyuz T series, made a detailed study of the Salyut, and received a lot of training under various programmes; for instance, the would-be cosmonaut worked through the techniques of observing natural phenomena on board a special laboratory plane as it flew over the Caspian Sea area, Central Asia, the Far East, the Kuban and Moldavia, and prepared for astrophysical experiments at the Byurokan and Crimean observatories.

"No new space mission is a replica of any previous one, of course," comments Vladimir Titov. "A great deal of equipment has appeared on Mir and on the Quant module, and the instruments which have 'transferred' to the Mir from the Salyuts have been updated to varying degrees. It takes patience to gain a thorough command of all this."

The flight engineer Musa Manarov, 36, is a Lak by nationality. Born in Baku, the son of a serviceman, he studied at the Moscow Aviation Institute and subsequently went to work in a design office where he specialized in spacecraft flight control systems. Recently, he performed the responsible duties of the Mir mission's deputy director. Enlisted in the cosmonaut unit in 1978, he always combined training with administrative work.

"The flight programme comprises complex and relatively simple elements," Musa Manarov remarked. "So far I cannot draw any definite lines of distinction between them. Ground training is one thing, but an actual space flight is something else altogether. Only in orbit shall we find out what each experiment is worth, although it is already quite obvious to me that materialogy and biotechnology probably hold the greatest promise. One can expect these areas of research to yield good results."

Several industrial units have been tested on board the Mir orbital complex over the current year: Ruchei, Svetlana and Kristalizator (the latter made by Czechoslovak experts). Shortly before being relieved of their duties, Romanenko and Alexandrov tested an entirely new furnace in which the light emitted by two halogen lamps was fucussed on a specimen by means of a mirror. This 0.25-kw furnace producing a temperature of over 1,000 degrees centigrade in beam focus is a prototype of those which will, in the long run, function outside orbital complexes or on automatic satellites using the sun instead of the lamps as the source of light. The advantage of such melting furnaces over the conventional kind is that the former make it possible to dispense with the crucible; instead of being placed in a refractory melting pot, a metal specimen is suspended in "midair" with nothing but a few thin wires underneath. This leaves the metal free from the contamination inevitably caused by crucible or melting pot walls. Space metallurgy has a great future - it is only in conditions of zero gravity that extra-pure metals can be produced.

Researcher-cosmonaut Anatoly Levchenko, the third member of the crew, is described by Alexei Leonov as a man who flies on anything that can fly - and even on what cannot. This experienced test pilot, now 46, the son of a factory worker, was born in the town of Krasnokutsk in the Kharkov Region. His father was killed in action in 1943. Having graduated from the Chernigov Flying School, Anatoly served in the Soviet Air Forces. In 1970 he transferred to a research and development institute of the Ministry of Aircraft Construction of the U.S.S.R. Levchenko has been with the cosmonauts' unit for almost a decade now. During the flight, his job will be to conduct technical experiments.

The biographies of the back-up pilots are largely similar to those of the cosmonauts now in orbit. Alexander Volkov and Alexander Shchukin are ex-airmen. Alexander Kaleri is an engineer, a graduate of the Moscow Physics and Technology Institute. Traditionally, the back-up crew maintains close links with the main crew throughout the duration of the flight: the latter consults the former on the problems that arise in the course of a mission and seeks its advice in unforeseen situations.

While the "novices" have just ventured into space, the "old-timers" can already draw certain conclusions. During their ten months in orbit, Yuri Romanenko, Alexander Laveikin and, later his substitute Alexander Alexandrov undertook thousands of tasks as part of 70 major experiments, conducted 587 astrophysical observations, and performed 80 experimental industrial operations.

This year has witnessed many other welcome developments besides the success of the Mir orbital mission. The thaw in the political climate has had a positive effect on Soviet-American cooperation in space research. Agreements on resuming joint exploration of planets have been signed in Moscow. So far this effort will be confined to two Mars-related projects: Phobos and Mars Observer. But this is only the beginning. Both sides are certain that they will succeed in reaching agreements on other, more long-term projects. Discussions between experts in medicine, biology and astrophysics are already under way. The coming year promises many new and interesting undertakings.

MIKHAIL CHERNYSHOV

JOINT VENTURES

The first in India

A. Mathur, the owner of the large Mathursons firm specializing in poultry breeding and the manufacture of poultry farm equipment, was very pleased. He had just signed an agreement on the construction near Delhi of a joint Indian-Soviet enterprise to produce modern equipment for poultry farms.

In the history of trade and economic relations between the two countries it is the first deal of this kind with the participation of a private Indian firm. A Soviet co-owner of the future enterprise is the Pyatigorsk farm machinery plant. Its share will make up 40 per cent of the fixed capital.

In two years' time the joint enterprise will start to manufacture, under Soviet licences, modern automatic incubators, water bowls and mechanisms for utilizing poultry manure and other waste. Part of its products are to be exported to the Soviet Union. A. Mathur also intends to sell some of the joint venture's produce to neighbouring countries.

The deal is a positive result of the readjustment of Soviet foreign economic policy under which enterprises have been allowed to independently decide questions of business cooperation with foreign companies.

In the 1960s and 1970s a powerful wave from the "green revolution" swept through India - machines were decisively introduced and chemicals used in farming and agribusiness. As a result, the country became self-sufficient in food and even began to export part of its agricultural produce. However, the "green revolution" virtually bypassed poultry farms. The acute shortage of poultry meat called for the rapid expansion of poultry farming.

"In the summer of 1987," A. Mathur told me, "I visited the Soviet Union as a member of a group of Indian businessmen engaged in related activities. We were greatly impressed by the technology of poultry breeding in your country and decided to use Soviet aid for carrying out a 'white revolution' in India. This is how the present contract appeared. We are in favour of an 'export of revolution' of this sort."

The contract concluded between Mathursons and the Pyatigorsk farm machinery plant is the result of bilateral efforts for a further expansion of Soviet-Indian trade and, what is important, for overcoming bottlenecks in it. The total volume of trade between the two countries is quite large, and it will continue to grow rapidly. But, unfortunately, for several years, and in 1987 too, the Soviet Union has had a deficit in its trade with India. This is due primarily to the unsatisfactory pattern of Soviet export to India, with raw materials making up 70 per cent of the total volume. The deficit has been aggravated by a fall in world oil prices, which is a major item on the list of Soviet deliveries to India.

"The balance can only be redressed if Indian businessmen increase the purchase of Soviet machines and equipment," commented Shri Manubhai Shah, president of the India-U.S.S.R. Chamber of Commerce and Industry, in an inteview to New Times.

The president of the chamber revealed that, as a result of the joint study of this problem, plans are being drawn up for the establishment of more than 150 joint ventures. About 130 of them are to be set up in India, and for this purpose high-tech equipment is to be imported from the Soviet Union. As many as 25 ventures will be built in the Soviet Union, and India will have to supply them with equipment measuring up to the latest international standards.

Thus, the next few years are expected to witness important changes in the Soviet-Indian trade pattern, especially in Soviet export, where the proportion of finished products and advanced technology will increase considerably.

LEONID ZHEGALOV
our own correspondent

Delhi

HEINRICH BÖLL:

"I HAVE CONFESSED, BUT NOT REPENTED..."

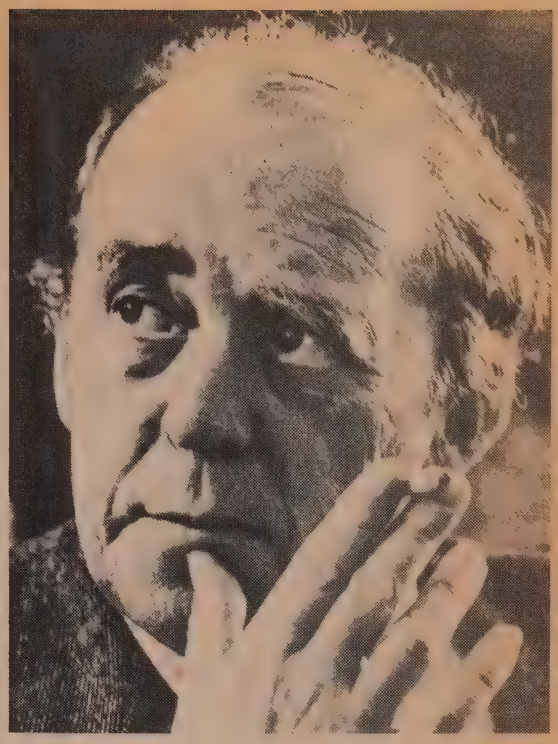


Photo by Erika Sulzer

One of the best-known German-language writers, Heinrich Böll, was seventy years old on December 21, 1987. He died two and a half years ago on July 16, 1985.

It is painful to recall that for a period of ten years almost nothing written by Böll was published in this country, where he is much admired as an author. Following the publication in the magazine Novy Mir of his "Group Portrait with Lady," which was "adapted" to such an extent that Böll was angered by it, it was only in January 1983 that an excerpt from his story, "The Will," appeared in the Literaturnaya Gazeta. This small attempt to pierce the wall of silence certainly didn't cause it to come tumbling down. It is a consoling thought, therefore, that Böll was able to see for himself, shortly before his death, that the wall was removed at last: on July 3, 1985, his "Letter to My Sons"was published in the Literaturnaya Gazeta in an abridged form. (The full text appeared later in the magazine Inostrannaya Literatura.) Böll wrote it to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the collapse of Hitlerite Germany. In it he said: "You can always tell what kind of Germans you are dealing with by the way they refer to May 8: the day of defeat or victory day." These words were particularly pertinent at a time when people in the Federal Republic of Germany marked the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II as either an occasion for celebration or occasion for mourning.

Ten years of taboo meant that the Soviet reader could not get acquainted with important new works by Böll as soon as they appeared. To make up for the omission Novy Mir has carried this year (Nos. 11, 12) Böll's posthumously published novel, "Women on the Shores of the Rhine." Inostrannaya Literatura has announced plans to publish Böll's novel (1979) "Careful Siege" next year. One-volume collections of Böll's works as well as his collected works are now being prepared for publication. Among his latest works is the satirical story presented as a documentary, "The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum, or How Violence Develops and Where It Can Lead." The story was translated into Russian in 1974, but it appeared only in 1986 in the magazine Oktyabr (No. 3).

At the centre of the story is a modest, hard-working, amiable young woman, a "diplomaed economist," or more simply, a domestic servant. Katharina did not consider it a lowly job. On the contrary, it gave her a measure of independence of the kind free-lance professionals enjoy. It was her profession, and she worked conscientiously, even imaginatively, and to the best of her ability. She was becoming an artist in her own way. Having grown up in a poor family, having a difficult childhood and unhappy adolescence, she appreciated all the more her independence and relative financial security. Then her well-ordered life was suddenly disrupted: she fell in love "at first sight." When she found out that her lover was being sought by the police, she helped to hide him. The case came to involve a powerful newspaper - THE NEWSPAPER as Böll put it. Because of manipulation and distortion of facts and outright slander Katharina was driven to the point where she killed the reporter who came to interview her. She gave herself up to the police - interrogations and a trial followed. Her reputation was tarnished and her life was ruined, but Katharina Blum ("die Blume" in German means "flower") was unbroken.

In connection with this story Böll wrote: "If certain journalistic devices described here bear any resemblance to devices used by the Bild-Zeitung, the resemblance is neither intentional nor accidental - it is inevitable." This forewarning notwithstanding, THE NEWSPAPER in Böll's story is a perfect portrait of the notorious Springer paper.

The publication of the story prompted the Springer paper to revive the vehement campaign it launched against Böll at the beginning of the 1970s. At that time, in connection with the actions of the ultra-left Baader-Meinhof group and with the fierce persecution of left forces generally, Böll called on the nation to come to its senses and put an end to the spread of hatred and suspiciousness. He condemned the instigative tactics used by the Bild. For his outspokenness Böll was all but accused of aiding and abetting terrorists.

As may be expected, the entire yellow press poured invective on the story.

Echoes of the violent controversy in those days continued to be heard every now and then. Böll referred to it in the afterword (printed below) which he wrote ten years later for a new edition of the story.

A decade later

An afterword to a new edition of "The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum"

There has been a persistent rumour that the **story** is a **novel** about terrorists. Quite recently this rumour is being spread again by a leading professor of information science: apparently he too didn't think it was necessary to **inform** himself on the matter. But then, how does an information scientist inform himself? By hearsay, or second-hand, or third- or even sixth-hand? Of course, I cannot tell anyone to read the story. But if someone with the responsibilities that the title of an information scientist entails, someone who **teaches** it to others, should speak out on any subject, surely he must know how to inform himself. There is not a single terrorist, male or female, in the story. There are, it is true, people **suspected** of having committed acts of terrorism. But, in my humble opinion, even an information scientist should know the difference between someone who is suspected of being a terrorist and someone who actually is one. Those who can recall events going back at least ten years will remember the time when THE NEWSPAPER spread slander and suspiciousness, that same NEWSPAPER which called dozens of people murderers, although none of them was found guilty of a single murder.

Not long ago our present Minister for Family had had to refute a report carried in a newspaper which is terribly similar to THE NEWSPAPER. Politicians only notice what kind of newspaper they are dealing with when they run into something disagreeable in connection with newspapers - and they continue to deal with them, again and again. Indeed, it's a waste of time to say anything more about certain newspapers.

But about this story? Ten years is a long time, and I would long have forgotten this pamphlet disguised as a story if I weren't occasionally reminded of it by totally misinformed information scientists. Essentially, this is a pamphlet, a polemic piece of work; it was conceived and written as such. Surely West Europeans, with their humanitarian education, would know that pamphlets belong to the best West European traditions. I too, after all, am a West European, and even have some elements of a humanitarian education. So, it is possible that I would have forgotten this pamphlet about THE NEWSPAPER disguised as a story if from time to time I weren't reproached - not only by the "right" but also by those who consider themselves "left" - for having written this **novel** about terrorists (which is not a novel at all, and there are no terrorists in it). The "right" is angry because it feels it ought to be angry. The "left" is angry because the story took place at a time when we had a semi-left (or should I say pseudo-semi-left?) government. I can reproach myself only in this: the book is too harmless. It is nothing more than a love story with the "pivot of action" (or "plot" in English) of a cheap novel: a "simple girl" (ah, if only I would be lucky enough to meet a **simple** human being! I haven't met one yet), an excellent housemaid, in love with a man who, as it later turned out, was being sought by the police. True, if she had known this earlier she would have loved him all the same - such was her character. Such things do happen. A peculiar thing, devilishly peculiar, this thing called love. There are women who love a man not because he is a criminal, but despite the fact that he is a criminal. A devilishly awful thing, and to THE NEWSPAPER, which loves only its own criminals and falsifies everything, it is unpleasant and incomprehensible! THE NEWSPAPER is so addicted to lying that even an unfalsified fact reported in its pages seems false. In short, truth is covered with shit even when THE NEWSPAPER reports it "truthfully." If it writes: "The roses are in bloom," I won't believe it even if I should be standing right in front of a blossoming rose bush. There is a saying: "He who has lied once is not believed even when he tells the truth." In my case it should be rephrased as: "He who has lied a thousand times will not be believed by me even if **once** he will tell the truth." As for the **blossoming** roses, I can only feel sorry for these beautiful flowers, because they are being used by falsity itself as an alibi.

Katharina Blum, with so little love in her life, this hard-working, efficient, entirely apolitical woman, who was **doing well** in the economic sense (thanks to her own efforts and thrift) - yes, yes, she was the very personification of the economic miracle, she had a car, her own flat and some money in the bank - cast a glance at Ludwig Götten, a favourable glance. Women who cast a glance at someone do not always carry in their handbags a description of the features of all the criminals being sought by the police, they do not have a criminal code with them, they do not even keep a civil code always near at hand. It's a sad business if there is love on both sides! We all know, don't we, how a flame shoots up when two are caught in a "blaze of love." And Götten, who had indeed broken the law - being an embezzler and a deserter - knew "how to love!" Conflicts (read: "the development of the narrative") were inevitable. And all the more so because this "simple girl" (where are the "simple" people, are there any?) possesses two accursed qualities celebrated in sagas and legends: **faithfulness** and **pride.** The situation became not just conflict-ridden, but explosive. Dynamite was strewn everywhere. And THE NEWSPAPER, scurrying about, sly and provocative, supplying information to the police and getting information from it (such things do happen; during the information exchange irrelevant minute details can be blown up and turned into suspicious circumstances), resorting to banner headlines, poured into the minds of readers a flood of suspicion, slander and cruelty. Here no roses burst into blossom. It was all about a "simple girl" who had dishonoured herself and lost all dignity, who actually broke the law by helping her lover to escape. She not only helped her lover to escape, but even gave him the key to a cosy little place that was once presented to her by an unlucky suitor who, the poor man, also gave her an extremely expensive ring in the vain hope of seeing her again. The story about the key is a detective story within a detective story. Katharina broke the law "because of love" - again, just as in a cheap novel! Such things do happen. This is a time-honoured motive in detective stories. And since THE NEWSPAPER had no qualms about anything, Katharina believed that it was responsible for the death of her mother. The reporter, meanwhile, couldn't understand why she was so angry with him, why she went off like that. After all, he had made her famous, and it was time for them to "skim off the cream" of her story together. In other words, after she had been squeezed like a lemon, her "true" story could now be told, and it would, of course, be presented just as falsely as everything else that appeared in THE NEWSPAPER. Probably it wasn't out of place, this terrible "innocence" of the reporter, who after all was only doing his job by supplying THE NEWSPAPER with shrieking headlines and sensational stories and who would now like to give her "true" story to another newspaper. It is possible that this terrible "innocence," almost simple-mindedness, of the reporter was what made Katharina seize the revolver. She did see that THE NEWSPAPER was vile, and this "innocent" vileness was for her the last straw. The "simple" girl was driven to despair and she committed a desperate act - murder, which in cheap fiction would be called a "bloody crime." Did Katharina intend to kill the reporter? At any rate she got herself a gun. Let us leave it to the criminal code to provide an answer to this question. There are not only conflicts with a deadly outcome; there are conflicts

which, by reducing a person to despair, inexorably lead to a deadly outcome. This is also well known in Western Europe, and may even be well known to information scientists.

What is important is this: the story not only has a title, "The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum," but also a subtitle, "How Violence Develops and Where It Can Lead." Very little is yet known about the violence inherent in SENSATIONAL HEADLINES, and almost nothing at all as to what such violence may lead to. It might be a good thing if criminology would undertake a study of what terrible things THE NEWSPAPERS can do with all their monstrous "innocence." However, the story had not only a title and a subtitle, but also a note: "The characters and subject of this story are imaginary. If certain journalistic devices described here bear any resemblance to devices used by the Bild Zeitung, the resemblance is neither intentional nor accidental - it is inevitable." Title, subtitle and note - these three seemingly small details are in fact three important component parts of the story. They are **inseparable** from it. Without them the pamphlet tendency of the story - and it is indeed tendentious! - could not be understood. Those who want to ponder over this story had better first ponder over these three elements, for the meaning of the story is almost contained within them.

Not long ago a group of schoolchildren from Hamburg through their teacher asked me the following question: "What happened later," in 1982, when Katharina and Ludwig should have been released from prison? A good question, one which I haven't yet asked myself. Well, since they had never been terrorists, it is not likely that they will become terrorists now. Katharina will apparently have to remain in jail longer than Ludwig. At the beginning she will probably work in the kitchen, and then perhaps in the economic management section of the prison. She will authorize Ludwig and Dr Blorna to sell her property and look for a small hotel which they will run together. She tells Ludwig and her friends that she didn't intend to kill Tötges, that the decision to do so came to her suddenly, without her being aware of it when, with all his terrible innocence, he approached her with his commercial and sexual propositions. She didn't know Tötges at all, and she didn't know herself either. Of course she realizes that she is a murderer, and therefore doesn't want to have any children. She cannot bear the thought that some day someone would say to her children or shout behind her back that their mother is a murderer. I would advise her to change her name and dye her hair - to have it dyed black if she is a blonde, and blond is she has dark hair. The older she grows, the more her conscience will bother her: after all, she is an extremely **sensitive** woman even though she committed a murder. Such things do happen. And I hope that Ludwig will be a good husband to her.

By the way, the reaction of the press, which quite rightly supposed that it was the target in the book, was not only spiteful, which is quite understandable, but in some instances downright stupid. Thus, they stopped publishing the weekly lists of best-sellers because they would have to include my book in the lists. The mighty empires are not always as mighty as they pretend to be. The pontiff of the empire didn't stoop to making **direct** accusations himself. That he left to his priests and cardinals - when necessary, cardinals assist at services conducted by the Pope himself. I am sorry about it, but I am unrepentant.

P.S. Meanwhile, Bild has almost become the official government newspaper. On Sundays and Mondays ministerial statements on important political questions appear in one of the editions of Bild. This does not happen by chance.

Prefaced and translated by
EVGENIA KATSEVA

CHESS

Winning draw

Kasparov retains the world title

Thus, the holder of the chess crown Garri Kasparov has beaten off Anatoly Karpov's challenge and retained the world title for at least three years.

The opponents battled it out over the chess-board at the Lope de Vega Theatre in Seville for more than two months.

Anatoly Karpov got off to a successful start. Then Kasparov managed to overtake and outstrip him. It was only after winning Game Sixteen that the former world champion levelled the score. This did not suit Karpov, however. Indeed, a tie would mean a winning draw for Kasparov. The challenger therefore kept on seeking moves likely to give him a chance to win. But is there a small corner in this ancient game that has not been covered by chess theory? And Karpov's efforts at the opening stage proved futile.

As the days rolled by, the number of games to be played was diminishing and the finish was drawing near. The score remained even.

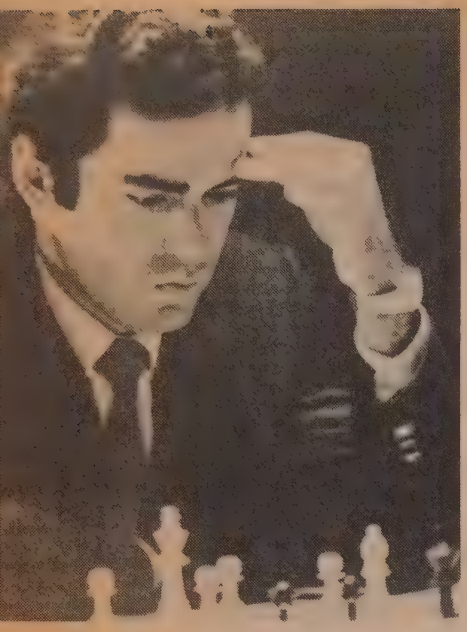
Each draw was different from its predecessor, and yet they all had one thing in common: Karpov was out to find a gap in Kasparov's defences, but the champion faultlessly repelled all attacks. And then, just when it seemed that the match would cross the finishing line with all the remaining games drawn, the wind suddenly changed.

Realizing that the time had come for a breakthrough, the former world champion, who had white pieces in Game Twenty-One, created at the opening stage a crucial position on the board in the "chaotic" Mikhail Tahl style. Of the many promising possible moves, the opponents had to choose the most reliable. Easy said, difficult to do. Karpov suddenly hesitated, and, rather than risk sending his Knight into the adverse camp, forfeited the initiative. Moreover, Black sprang a surprise on everyone by posting his Knight in the middle of White's camp.

Kasparov was on the verge of a clear victory when he hastened to play a reckless pawn move. White gained the chance of exchanging his Rook for Black's Knight and a pawn, and thus equalized. In so doing, Karpov saw that a tempting thrust by another Black Knight could be countered by a strong Queen move. Therefore, having coolly assessed the position and risks involved, the champion forced a draw by repetition.

A most acute scoring situation took shape. In the three remaining games Karpov was only once to play White. The outcome of the match seemed a foregone conclusion. Experts know, however, that what really matters at such moments are staying power and the correct choice of an opening system for creative confrontation. Just as in any other big-time sport, the knowledge of the opponent's psychology, nervous strain and fatigue are factors of particular importance on the home stretch.

Now that we know the outcome of the match, one can frankly say that during the hours leading up to the concluding games both participants in the match felt extreme



nervous tension and were in urgent need of a respite. This can be the only explanation for Kasparov's decision to avail himself of his last time-out before Game Twenty-Two and his relaxed attitude to that important encounter, when he seemed to be happy to see Karpov trade his pieces one after another. When the game was quickly drawn, however, it transpired that Karpov, too, was tired for he exercised his right to a third time-out. This was possibly a fatal mistake, but at that moment it looked like a wise move.

Thus the situation in the match two games before conclusion was as follows: the score stood at 11-all: both opponents had gained three victories, with 16 games ending in draws.

Everyone expected that the challenger would employ a sharp opening in Game Twenty-Three. But Karpov defied their expectations. He avoided confrontation at the opening stage and shifted the bulk of the struggle onto the middle game. As a result, White (Karpov) accumulated a strong pawn group in the centre, and Kasparov had to put up a protracted defence. After 40 moves the game was adjourned, leaving Karpov with a slight edge. Black, however, had sufficient reserves for defence. It was at this point that the "human factor" manifested itself. Unpredictable things began to happen, and when play was resumed after adjournment Game Twenty-Three fully made up for the monotony of certain portions of the preceding encounters.

It is not difficult to calculate that the opponents had 19 hours to analyze the adjourned game: from the time of adjournment to the resumption of play the following day. One can easily imagine that all that time they had little desire to sleep. In the meantime, millions of admirers of the talent of these two grandmasters were doing their utmost to delve into the secrets of the adjourned position, since the outcome of the duel depended in many respects on that particular game.

It transpired, when the game was actually resumed, that Karpov had sealed a very interesting move: a Rook came close to the White King, as though preparing in advance for defence. Then the other White Rook penetrated into the adverse camp, but its isolated actions failed to produce the desired effect. It was then that the world champion decided that it was time to act.

After resumption, the time control is more stringent than on the days of basic play: 16 moves per hour. And both grandmasters exceeded their time. Their actions then came to depend more on intuition than on common sense. As Karpov ceased to attack, Kasparov wrongly concluded that the former world champion was at a loss; therefore, he decided to clinch the game through an unexpected combination. Under pressure, with time running short, he failed to see that the situation on the board was basically unchanged, while every possible combination had been thoroughly examined by the rival during home analysis.

Kasparov played a spectacular move, sacrificing his Rook and looking forward to a draw. Another two moves were quickly played, and the world champion was dismayed to see Karpov take one and a half minutes of the remaining two to play his 53rd move, when his Bishop, long since inactive, posed a threat to Black's Queen. Evidently, because of the time factor, Kasparov had totally forgotten about such a possibility. Well, champions, too, can blunder in the excitement of the moment.

Karpov was soon a minor piece up, and Kasparov had to stop his clock. The champion, who had been in the lead from Game Eight right through to Game Twenty-Two, suddenly found himself lagging behind. He had to accomplish the impossible: to gain a victory in the last encounter without fail - a task hardly feasible in such high-level competition. And now that same third time-out which Karpov hastened to use on the eve of Game Twenty-Three stood Kasparov in good stead. For Karpov was now badly in need of it to be able to psychologically prepare for a calm defence!

I can imagine how nervous the opponents were when they began to play the concluding game.

Everyone was now wondering how the world champion would act. Would he mount an attack at the opening stage? Would he employ an opening variation already seen in the match or think up something fantastic for the most important encounter? Nothing of the kind happened. Kasparov chose a classical variation of the Réti Opening, in which events develop slowly and attack is prepared well in advance.

At first, Karpov played calmly. Later, however, his nerves let him down and, contrary to form, he began hurriedly seeking ways of exchanging pieces. His development on the Queenside also proved inferior. Finally, Karpov spent too much time pondering simple moves and found himself in serious time trouble. Perhaps the unhurried manner of conducting the struggle chosen by Kasparov came as a surprise to him.

Incidentally, it must be said that Kasparov played splendidly, possibly, as never before. His cool reaction to the numerous exchanges of pawns and pieces will serve for many years ahead as an example of psychological stamina in a difficult situation.

Don't be misled into believing that the champion had a won position in the middle game. Far from it. Kasparov, however, kept up the flame of attack with great ingenuity, constantly forcing Karpov to tackle certain tasks of local importance. At one point, when it seemed that White's attack had petered out and that the game was about to be drawn, Kasparov played a brilliant Knight move (31st move), sacrificing a pawn. Though the former world champion accepted the offer, he had absolutely no time to spot an effective move. At that moment Kasparov too chose a continuation that was far from desirable. Karpov had no time to cash in on the chance.

The adjourned game, where Karpov was a pawn down, was appraised as a foregone win for the world champion. Overcoming some technical difficulties, Garri Kasparov won Game Twenty-Four and defended his title. From now on, for some three years, he will be able to play in various tournaments just for fun and calmly await the appearance of a new rival to challenge him in the 1990 match. Will this be Anatoly Karpov again or a new name on the chess Olympus?

By and large, the match was an absorbing and dramatic event. It fully mirrored the high level of knowledge and mastery characteristic of chess-87. Many games of the match are of interest not only to chess theoreticians but also to experts on sports psychology. And for younger chess players, the creative assets of the match are better than any textbook.

Seville was also the venue of a regular congress of the World Chess Federation (FIDE). It was decided to hold in 1988 a world "quickie" chess championship, where every player will have a mere 30 minutes per game. It must be assumed that following such a decision, similar competitions will be held at other, "lower" levels, too. Once this actually happens, it will represent a very democratic decision. I have no doubt that it will be welcomed by millions of chess players who, preoccupied with their basic profession or trade, cannot afford, even given an adequate rating, to play in tournaments of 5-hour games.

At the congress, it also transpired that FIDE and the newly-founded international Grandmasters Association, whose President is world champion Garri Kasparov, had so far failed to find common ground.

DAVID BRONSTEIN
international grandmaster

PRIZES AND THANKS FOR BEST CONTRIBUTIONS IN 1987

and for active collaboration with the magazine

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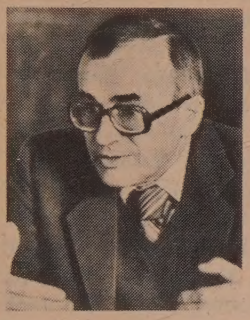

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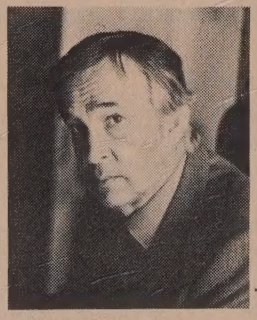

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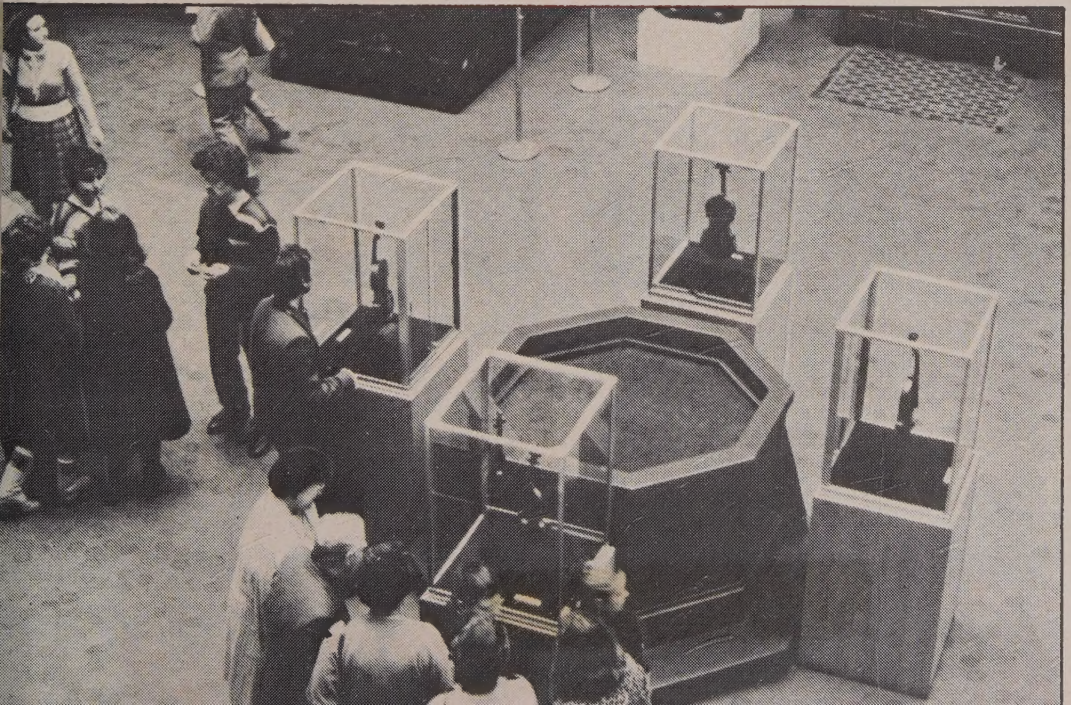
An exhibition of Stradivari, Amati and Guarneri violins, cellos and altos has been arranged in the Italian patio of Moscow State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts. Called "Antonio Stradivari and the Italian school of violin makers," the exhibition commemorates the 250th anniversary of the great craftsman's death. The work of Soviet violin makers is also on display there.

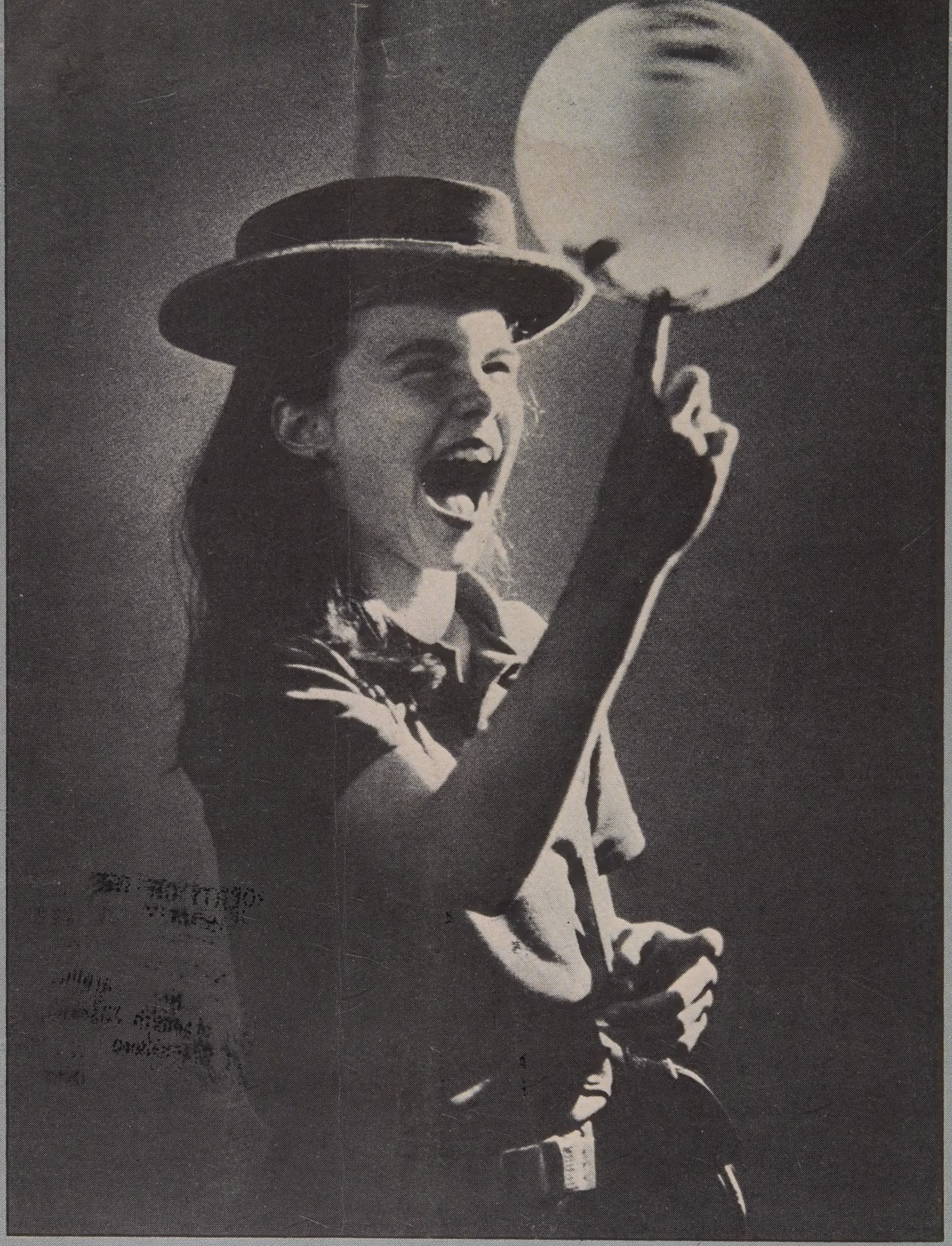
Five centuries ago when tertian- and quart-tuned violas were still common in Western Europe, a three-stringed quint-tuned bow instrument, resembling the violin, appeared in Poland. It was described by the German musicologist Agricola in 1528.

Throughout the 15th and 16th centuries, the sound and shape of the violin underwent an evolution. Important centres of violin making appeared in Northern Italy: Brescia gave the world craftsmen like da Salo and Maggini, and Cremona Andrea and Nicolo Amati and Andrea Guarneri. Having learned Nicolo Amati's professional secrets, Antonio Stradivari opened a workshop of his own in Cremona. For years, Stradivari made violins much like those of his teacher until about half a century later he created a much better instrument.

At the exhibition ● Vladimir Spivakov, leader of the Moscow Virtuoso ensemble, with his 18th-century Gobetti.



The first quarter of the 18th century was Stradivari's heyday. It was then that he created his best concert violins distinguished by their deep and clear tone. Stradivari violins rank with the greatest works of art. Their artistic finish, graceful shape, and incomparable sound place them in a class of their own. Playing a Stradivari from the State collection of unique musical instruments is a privilege only the top violinists are considered worthy of.



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